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ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,

RESIDING AT ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

A NEW EDITION;

TO WHICH IS ADDED A GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

BASIL: printed and sold by JAMES DECKER.
STRASBURGH: sold by F. G. LEVRAULT.
1800.

TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS INSCRIBED,

BY THE EDITOR;

AS A TESTIMONY OF HIS SINCERE RESPECT,

AND AS A MEMORIAL OF

THE GRATITUDE AND ATTACHMENT

ENTERTAINED BY THE AUTHORS OF IT

FOR THAT

ANCIENT AND VENERABLE SEAT OF LEARNING,

WITH WHICH THEY WERE

SO LONG AND SO HONORABLY CONNECTED.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE ATHENIAN LETTERS were first printed in the years 1741 and 1743, in Four Octavo Volumes, but were communicated only to a limited number of Friends, under the ſtricteſt injunctions of ſecrecy.

In 1781 they were reprinted in one Volume Quarto, but not published: yet, as the impreſſion conſiſted of an hundred

copies, they became more generally known, and were mentioned in Maty's and the Monthly Reviews.

As they were now much ſought after, and could not be purchaſed, they were published at Dublin, from a copy which had fallen into the hands of a Bookſeller. The ſucceſsful ſale of this Edition in Ireland encouraged a London Bookſeller to adverti ſe propoſals for a new one; but he immediately relinquished his deſign on being informed that the Work was private property, and had never been printed for publication.

The cauſe of its being ſo long ſuppreſſed was an ingenuous diffidence,

which forbad the Authors of it, moſt of them extremely young, to obtrude on the notice of the World, what they had conſidered merely as a preparatory trial of their ſtrength, and as the beſt method of imprinting on their own minds ſome of the immediate ſubjects of their academical ſtudies. This cauſe no longer ſubſiſts; and, in conſequence of repeated applications, the Work is now offered to the Public, illuſtrated with a Geographical Index.

The analogy between the plan of the ATHENIAN LETTERS and the TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS the Younger, induced the late Lord DOVER to tranſmit a copy of them to the Abbé BARTHÉLEMI, whom

he had known during his residence at Paris. The Letters which passed on that occasion are printed at the end of the Prefaces.

HARDWICKE.

WIMPOLE,
March 31st, 1798.

PREFACE

TO THE EDITION OF 1741.

AS the following Collection of Letters has been thought worthy the attention of the Learned by ſome judicious perſons to whom they were communicated, the Tranſlator humbly preſumes they will prove an acceptable entertainment to the Public; at the ſame time he will be bold to ſay, they want no introduction to recommend them. However, as the world will naturally inquire into the circumſtances to which it is indebted for theſe valuable remains of antiquity, he thinks it neceſſary to premiſe a general account of the accident which brought them to his hands. The account, he conceives, will not only be grateful to the curioſity of the Reader, but be attended with a further good conſequence to himſelf, as it will ſufficiently protect him from the cavils of cenſorious critics, and vindicate him from every unjuſt imputation.

It has long been a ſubject of complaint to modern Literati, that the Library at Fez in

the King of Morocco's dominions, where the greateſt treaſures of Oriental learning are ſuppoſed to lie, was never yet examined with any tolerable care or diligence. The difficulty of acceſs to it is the reaſon why nothing certain can be known concerning it; but ſeveral have imagined, that, were it thoroughly ſearched, the Arabian verſions of the Greek and Latin authors would in all probability ſee the light. A learned Jew, who dwelt in that city for many years, and who by ſome means or other had worked himſelf into the favor of the Alcaide, or chief magiſtrate of the place, ſpent much of his leiſure hours in peruſing the volumes that are lodged there. Upon his deceaſe in the year 1698, he left his papers to an Engliſh Conſul at Tunis, from whom he had received obligations in his lifetime. The Conſul, upon turning them over, amongſt others, found a fair Spaniſh manuſcript, entitled "Letters from an Agent of the King of Perſia, "reſiding at Athens during the Peloponneſian "War, to the Miniſters of ſtate, *etc.* tranſlated by MOSES BEN MESHOBAB, from a Manuſcript in the Old Perſic Language, preſerved in the Library at Fez." Surpriſed at what he ſaw, he wrote immediately to two

or three friends in England, and informed them of the important diſcovery. It appears that he had then an intention to publiſh them, but being afterwards called off by different purſuits, they lay neglected until his death. By the will of this gentleman, the manuſcript was left as a legacy to the Engliſh Tranſlator, who thought it would be an act of the higheſt injuſtice to with-hold them any longer from the public view. He chuſes indeed to conceal his name, which he hopes the candid Reader will forgive, ſince it is not done with a deſign of impoſing more ſafely upon the world, but in order to decline with honor the diſagreeable wranglings of controverſy.

The Agent concerned in theſe Letters appears to have been ſingularly fitted for his employment. As his mind was enlarged by a general converſation with men and books, his parts and knowledge furniſhed him with every qualification, required even by the moſt modern writers, on the ſubject of foreign negotiations. A circumſtance the more extraordinary in CLEANDER, as he lived at a time when the balance of power was unequally divided in the world, and the ſcience of embaſſy and treaty was not yet reduced into that regular and perfect ſyſtem,

to which it has been carried by the wiſdom of later and more improved ages. For the ſimplicity of the ancients in all their conteſts with their neighbours led them into the ſtrange abſurdity of ſettling ambiguities, inſtead of leaving them; and it was the conſtant rule of their policy not to play with the rights of nations, but to ſtate and to clear them.

During the reſidence of our Agent in the city of Athens, he ſeems to have been extremely curious in examining the conſtitution of Greece; and, while he writes to the Miniſters on matters of political and public buſineſs, he does not fail to tranſmit faithful accounts to his friends of the learning prevailing in the country, and little private anecdotes relating to himſelf. Far from dealing in trivial and low occurrences, his Letters are full of the moſt important information. We never find him preſſing for any increaſe of his remittances, but contented with his firſt appointments. It is agreeable enough to obſerve him upon ſome occaſions deviating from the dull road of his inſtructions, and acting with that freedom and latitude of judgment, which a wiſe man ſhould be indulged in exerciſing, and with that air of authority and underſtanding,

which naturally creates eſteem. By a peculiar dexterity in his converſation, he makes uſe of the acceſs which he had gained to the conſiderable men of Athens to the ſervice of his maſter, and the intereſt of Perſia; and, though he now and then breaks out into ſtrong and rapturous expreſſions on liberty, he cannot lay aſide a zealous regard for the one, or a firm attachment to the other. In a word, he is a pattern of addreſs in negotiation; and I doubt not but if WICQUEFORT had been acquainted with his character, he had numbered CLEANDER among the moſt eminent maſters of that art, and recommended his Letters in the ſame page with Cardinal D'OSSAT's [1].

Beſides theſe ſentiments, which evidently flow from a peruſal of the Papers now offered to the Public, a ſecret pleaſure will ariſe in the breaſt of every man of taſte and knowledge, when he conſiders how much they tend to corroborate the teſtimony of THUCYDIDES, to heighten our idea of his impartiality, and to wipe off the unjuſt aſperſions that have been thrown upon his memory by JOSEPHUS [2]. At

[1] *Vide* Wicquefort's Complete Amb. ſect. 10. B. 2.

[2] *Vide* Joſeph, con. Apion. where he endeavours to leſſen the credit of the Greek hiſtorians.

the ſame time we may derive a more adequate notion of the cuſtoms of the Greeks and Perſians from theſe Letters of our Agent, in which the living manners are expreſſed, than we can poſſibly gather from the moſt formal and elaborate treatiſes of grave antiquaries. Not to mention ſeveral curious particulars of Court ſubtility and intrigue interwoven in the courſe of them, which may ſeem perhaps beneath the notice of an hiſtorian, but which yet have a wonderful effect in unravelling the ſecret ſprings and true cauſes of action.

As to the objections, which have been framed with peculiar ſucceſs, to the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of PHALARIS and THEMISTOCLES by a formidable champion in the republic of letters; ſuch objections as are drawn from the uncertain time, in which the great men who are ſpoken of in them are ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed, and from the matter of the Epiſtles themſelves; we conceive that no ſuch can lie againſt the collection before us. AROSSA [3], who was the firſt inventreſs of letter-writing in the opinion of our critic, had been ſeveral years dead, before CLEANDER made his appearance on the

[3] *Vide* Bentley againſt Boyle, p. 535.

theatre of human affairs; and after her death ſhe could no longer monopolize the uſe of it. It is therefore apprehended with an honeſt confidence, that we have little to fear either from the extenſive learning or penetration of that critic [4].

To conclude: The Tranſlator begs leave to congratulate the literary world on the diſcovery of this hidden treaſure of antiquity, which may be conſidered as a large acceſſion to the wealth it already ſtands poſſeſſed of; and to congratulate himſelf on being the unworthy inſtrument, after an interval of ſo many ages, of preſenting theſe ineſtimable relics to the Public.

C.

[4] Dr. Bentley was then alive.

PREFACE

TO THE EDITION OF 1781.

IT is thought proper to preſerve the Preface to the Octavo Edition of theſe Letters [5], which ſuppoſes the Work to be genuine, and a Tranſlation from an old Arabic Verſion: but when a due interval of time has elapſed, the truth may be owned; the illuſion vaniſhes; it is a maſquerade which is cloſed; the fancy-dreſſes and the dominos are returned to their reſpective wardrobes; the company walk about again in their proper habits, and return to their ordinary occupations in life.

The Authors of theſe Letters were a Society of Friends, who were contemporaries at the Univerſity of Cambridge, about the years 1739 and 1740; all their names (except that of the Writer of this Preface) were an ornament to the place. The world was unfortunately deprived of the talents, virtues, and ſervices of one of them, when they were moſt wanted, both by his own Profeſſion and by the Public:

5 Printed by James Bettenham in 1741.

not above two or three of the ſet are now living; they lament the loſs of their colleagues, and cultivate the remembrance of their former friendly connexion.

The Learned, into whoſe hands theſe Letters may fall, will beſt judge how correctly the manners of antiquity are kept up, and how truly the hiſtory of thoſe times is repreſented in them.

The Grecian part of the correſpondence is exactly ſtated from THUCYDIDES and PLUTARCH; the Perſian is extended and improved from the few remaining fragments of CTESIAS: but it is hoped, the *Coſtume* of the Eaſt is preſerved throughout; and the events ſuch as might happen under a well-governed abſolute monarchy — the picture of which is more flattering than experience commonly juſtifies.

The general character of CLEANDER is taken from MAHMUT, the Turkiſh Spy; but it is finiſhed upon the Greek model; and the philoſophical and literary features of it are copied from the Schools of Athens, and the Groves of Academus. The forms and language of the negotiation part of the Letters may be thought too refined for the times when they are ſuppoſed to be written;

written; the diſpatches of thoſe great Miniſters, TEMPLE and D'ESTRADES, were the originals which the writers in that department attempted to imitate.

HERODOTUS, PAUSANIAS, and STRABO have furniſhed the Antiquities of Ægypt; HYDE's *Religio Vet. Perſarum* has been chiefly followed in the Letters which relate to that obſcure ſubject, and it is hoped with ſome ſucceſs: and ſo as to form an intereſting contraſt with the Greek worſhip and philoſophy.

Perhaps the character and travels of the young Perſian Satrap ORSAMES might have been more varied and enlivened, and he might have been brought to Greece to ſerve a volunteer in their armies, and improve under the military inſtitutions of Athens and Sparta; but it is thought adviſable, on the whole, to make no alterations from the original edition, particularly as the learned and ingenious Writer of thoſe Letters is deceaſed.

Not many years ago the younger CREBILLON, a name well known among the novel-writers of France, publiſhed a work in four volumes under this very title of *Lettres Athéniennes;* they relate to the ſame times, and have ſome of the ſame characters with ours, as PERICLES,

ASPASIA, CLEON, and ALCIBIADES: but the turn of that correſpondence is ſo different from that of the preſent Work, that no compariſon can be made between them; the Readers will give the preference according to their reſpective taſtes and inclinations. — We hope our characters are antique. Thoſe of Mr. CREBILLON are in a great degree the *petits-maîtres* and *petites-maîtreſſes* of Paris; and the idea of improving the manners and morals of ſociety does not ſeem to have been the principal object of that ingenious writer in thoſe Letters, any more than in the *Sopha et l'Ecumoire.*

H.

To the ABBÉ BARTHÉLEMI.

MILORD DOVER, de la famille de Yorke, ſaiſit avec empreſſement l'occaſion qui ſe préſente par le canal de M. Barthélemi, Miniſtre Plénipotentiaire de ſa Majeſté très Chrétienne à la cour de Londres, d'offrir à M. l'Abbé Barthélemi ſon oncle l'hommage ſi juſtement dû au ſavant & élégant Auteur du VOYAGE DU JEUNE ANACHARSIS EN GRECE, en lui faiſant parvenir le Volume ci-joint des LETTRES ATHÉNIENNES. L'origine de cette production eſt expliquée dans la ſeconde Préface à la tête de l'ouvrage : les Lettres ſignées P. ſont de Philippe Yorke, Comte de Hardwicke, fils ainé du Grand Chancelier de ce nom; celles ſignées C. ſont de ſon frère, Mr. Charles Yorke, qui eſt lui-même parvenu au poſte éminent de Grand Chancelier, mais qui eſt mort trop tôt pour ſa famille & pour ſa patrie; les autres ſont écrites ou par leurs parens ou par leurs amis. En priant M. l'Abbé Barthélemi d'agréer ce petit préſent littéraire, l'on n'a point la préſomption de comparer cet ouvrage au charmant Voyage d'Anacharſis, mais uniquement de donner un témoignage d'eſtime à ſon illuſtre Auteur; & de marquer combien on a été flatté de

trouver qu'une idée qui a pris ſon origine ici il y a près de cinquante ans a été perfectionnée avec tant d'élégance long temps après, ſans aucune communication, par un Auteur digne du ſujet.

A LONDRES,
ce 21 Décembre 1789. DOVER.

To Lord DOVER.

MILORD,

J'AI l'honneur de vous remercier du bel exemplaire des LETTRES ATHÉNIENNES que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer, & ſurtout de la note trop flatteuſe que vous avez daigné y tracer de votre main. J'entendis l'été dernier parler pour la première fois de cet ouvrage; et ce fut par M. Jenkinſon. Je n'ai pu juſqu'à préſent le parcourir qu'à la hâte; ſi je l'avois connu plutôt, ou je n'aurois pas commencé le mien, ou j'aurois taché d'approcher de ce beau modele. Pourquoi ne l'a-t-on pas communiqué au public? Pourquoi n'eſt-il pas traduit dans toutes les langues? Je ſacrifierois volontiers mes derniers jours au plaiſir d'en enrichir notre littérature, ſi je connoiſſois mieux les fineſſes de la langue Angloiſe: mais je n'entreprendrois pas de l'achever, de peur qu'il

ne m'arrivât la même choſe qu'à ceux qui ont voulu continuer le diſcours de Boſſuet ſur l'Hiſtoire Univerſelle.

Daignez agréer l'hommage de la reconnoiſſance & du reſpect avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être,

MILORD,

Votre très humble et très obéiſſant ſerviteur,

A PARIS
ce 1 Janvier 1790.

BARTHÉLEMI.

Earl MANSFIELD to the Earl of HARDWICKE.

MY DEAR LORD,

GIVE me leave to return you my warmeſt thanks for the ATHENIAN LETTERS.

—— Veteres revocamus amores,
Atque olim amiſſas flemus amicitias.

I grieve exceedingly that your Lordſhip has ſuffered ſo much, and hope you are better. Nobody can wiſh it more ſincerely than

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

MANSFIELD.

MARCH 1783.

EXPLANATION *of the* CAPITALS *at the End of each* LETTER.

P. Honorable Mr. YORKE, late Earl of Hardwicke.

C. Honorable CHARLES YORKE.

R. Rev. Dr. ROOKE, Maſter of Chriſt's College, Cambridge.

G. Rev. Dr. GREEN, late Biſhop of Lincoln.

W. DANIEL WRAY, Eſquire.

H. Rev. Mr. HEATON, of Bennet College.

E. Dr. HEBERDEN.

O. HENRY COVENTRY, Eſquire, Author of the Letters of Philemon to Hydaſpes.

L. Rev. Mr. LAWRY, Prebendary of Rocheſter.

T. Mrs. CATHERINE TALBOT.

B. Rev. Dr. BIRCH.

S. Rev. Dr. SALTER, late Maſter of the Charterhouſe.

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ATHENIAN

ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,
Residing at ATHENS during the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

A. M. 3573. *2d Year of the* 87*th Olympiad.*
The first Year of the Peloponnesian War.

LETTER I.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to*
Artaxerxes *King of* Persia.

I THINK it my duty to give you an account of my safe arrival at Athens, by the first ship that sails for Ephesus. My brother the merchant will take care to convey my letters safely to ARTAPHERNES, the governor of Sardis, who I suppose, has received orders to send them immediately by expresses to court. As I am hardly settled in this place, and have just gone

through the formalities, which are requiſite for all ſtrangers to comply with, who intend to ſettle at Athens, (as being admitted by the Areopagitic council, entered in a public regiſter, and chuſing a patron,) I can only pretend to give ſuch accounts of the preſent ſtate of affairs, as are founded on the common reports of the city. The Perſian council muſt already have been informed, that all things have long carried the appearance of a war between Athens and Lacedæmon, upon pretence of injuries done by the former, to the allies of the latter. I ſhall lay before thee a ſhort view of the riſe of theſe differences, and the height to which they are now arrived. The Corcyreans being engaged in a quarrel with the Corinthians about Epidamnus, a colony of the former on the coaſt of Illyrium, unable alone to make head againſt them, ſent a deputation to deſire an alliance with Athens. Their requeſt was ſtrongly oppoſed by the ambaſſadors of Corinth, and the people in the firſt aſſembly determined againſt the Corcyreans, but changed their opinion in the ſecond by the advice of PERICLES, and voted that a league ſhould be concluded with them. In purſuance of it they ſent to their aſſiſtance ten gallies, with orders that they ſhould only protect the poſſeſſions of Corcyra, without attacking the Corinthians. Theſe gallies were ſoon after engaged in a naval fight, where each party laid claim to the advantage; and at the ſame time Potidæa, a tributary city of the Athenians in Thrace, revolted againſt them, under pretence that they had impoſed hard

conditions upon them. Corinth, its mother-city, ſent troops to its relief againſt the Athenian army, which laid ſiege to it; and at the ſame time diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to Lacedæmon in conjunction with their allies, complaining that the Athenians had broken the treaties, by aſſiſting the Corcyreans, and interdicting all commerce with the Megareans. The Lacedæmonians, hurried on by the violent advices of STHENELAIDAS, the Ephorus, reſolved after a long debate, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of their king ARCHIDAMUS, that the Athenians had violated the leagues. In conſequence of this vote they demanded of them to raiſe the ſiege of Potidæa, and repeal the decree againſt Megara. The Athenians declared their readineſs to make many of the conceſſions required, provided ſimilar ones were made on the ſide of Sparta; or to ſubmit every point in diſpute to any impartial tribunal; concluding with a reſolution, (even if theſe pacific overtures were rejected,) not to commence hoſtilities, but to defend themſelves vigorouſly if they were attacked. I think this ſummary neceſſary, noble ſcribe, not to inform you, who have already received information of theſe events, but to give the better connexion to the ſequel of my diſpatches. It is now generally agreed, that an open rupture will ſhortly enſue; for advice arrived here laſt night from Platea, a town of Bœotia, and an ally of this ſtate, that the Thebans, who with the reſt of Peloponneſus ſide with Lacedæmon, had by treaſon gained admiſſion into the place, and kept poſſeſſion ſome little time; but the

citizens taking advantage of the night, fell upon and cut off the whole party, except 200, who were taken priſoners. The people this very day in an extraordinary aſſembly decreed, that a ſupply of troops and proviſions ſhould forthwith be ſent thither; and that meſſengers ſhould be diſpatched to all their allies, with the news of what has paſſed, and with orders to haſten their warlike preparations. A report is current, that the Spartans and their allies are aſſembling their forces at the Iſthmus of Corinth. I find the opinions of the people various about the true ſprings of this war. The party in oppoſition to PERICLES ſcruple not to ſay, that no other reaſon can be given for it but his perſonal intereſt, which engages him to ſet Greece in a flame, that the Athenians may be leſs at leiſure to examine his conduct, particularly with regard to the public accounts, and be obliged through the neceſſity of affairs to commit themſelves to his management. Libels and ſatires are diſperſed againſt him with great boldneſs, and at theatrical repreſentations he is reproached to his face in the vileſt accuſations and moſt ſcurrilous language. All theſe injuries he bears with admirable temper. Indeed ſuch is the natural inconſtancy and impatience of the Athenians, that in caſe of any ſignal ill-ſucceſs, or inconvenience from the preſent meaſures, he will run the utmoſt hazard of loſing the power and influence he now enjoys. It is beſides alledged with good reaſon, that theſe diviſions in Greece will give great advantage to Perſia, which will never fail to

encourage them by playing off one ſide againſt the other, till both are reduced ſo low, that our mighty monarch may take ample revenge for the battle of Salamis, and the inglorious peace with CIMON. The friends of PERICLES are not leſs induſtrious in juſtifying him; but I own, were I a Grecian, I ſhould exceedingly lament theſe unhappy quarrels, of which no one can poſſibly ſee the conſequences; or rather, if they continue, the event cannot but be detrimental to the common intereſt of Greece.

Thou art happy, illuſtrious miniſter, in depending, not upon the uncertain pleaſure of a mutinous and inconſtant people, but the will of a wiſe and beneficent prince, who meaſures the counſels of his ſervants, not by their ſucceſs, but their intrinſic goodneſs; and whoſe prudent conduct, inſpired by the great OROMASDES; is able to allay the rude clamors of faction, and ſuffers nothing to be heard through the wide empire of Perſia, but the ſtill ſmall voice of peace and unanimity.

From Athens. P.

LETTER II.

CLEANDER *to* HIPPIAS *his Brother, a Merchant at* Epheſus.

I HAVE encloſed in your packet a letter to GOBRYAS, which you muſt tranſmit to the ſatrap ARTAPHERNES, and at the ſame time excuſe my

not writing to him upon account of the hurry I am in at preſent, which will not permit me to think of any thing, but the neceſſary buſineſs of my employment, till I am a little ſettled. Our voyage from Epheſus was very proſperous, and my curioſity increaſed the nearer I drew to a city, which is renowned through the world for the wiſdom of its laws, the many eminent perſons it hath produced, the magniſicence of its buildings, and the ſtop it has ſo often put to the utmoſt efforts of the Perſian empire; ſo that it may properly enough be ſtyled the barrier of Greece. The entrance into the harbour of Piræus ſtrikes one with aſtoniſhment; the vaſt number of ſhips, both for trade and war, which are continually lying there; the face of buſineſs which appears in the workmen at the dock; and the crowds of merchants, and of naval officers, paſſing every moment between the haven and the city, form a very grand and a very pleaſing ſpectacle to a ſtranger. One can no longer wonder, that a ſtate, where ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry and freedom prevails, though under the diſadvantage of a craggy, unfruitful, and narrow territory, ſhould eclipſe monarchies of fifty times its extent, where the labor of the people waſtes itſelf in cultivating the arts of luxury; and the higheſt ambition amongſt them is, who ſhall be the meaneſt ſlave to the ſovereign. I have made choice of your old acquaintance and hoſt, PHILEMON, to be my patron; he ſeems to be a true republican, and a man of great honor and probity. His advice will be of uſe to me, with regard

to my behaviour here; and his knowledge and experience will greatly aſſiſt me in my inquiries into the conſtitution and affairs of Athens. As this ſhip carries you letters from your correſpondents in this place, I ſhall add nothing of the news ſtirring here at preſent; and only recommend it to you, to take care of the ſpeedy conveyance of my diſpatches and remittances. In the midſt of that hurry of mercantile buſineſs, which renders you the greateſt merchant of the Perſian empire, and a more uſeful ſubject to your king than the wealthieſt and proudeſt ſatrap, beſtow ſome moments in thinking of your brother; who, though placed in a hazardous and important ſituation, remote from his family and friends, will ever preſerve the tendereſt regards for your welfare and proſperity. Whilſt I watch over the motions of Greece, and, like a ſentinel, foretel the approach of every danger to my country, do you perform a far greater ſervice to it, by exporting all thoſe coſtly vanities, and that oſtentatious magnificence, which have enervated the degenerate poſterity of CYRUS. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER III.

CLEANDER *to* ARTAPHERNES, *the Governor of* Sardis.

As my family and myſelf have been always honored with your protection, and as you

firſt recommended me to the Perſian court for this employment; there is no one who has a better right to be informed of the ſteps I take, and the intelligence I receive. You may acquaint GOBRYAS in your next letters, that war is at laſt declared between the two famous republics, Athens and Lacedæmon. This ſtate, by the inſtigation of PERICLES, refuſed to admit a herald, who was ſent by ARCHIDAMUS, king of Sparta, to offer the laſt terms upon which peace would be concluded. We expect every day to hear, that the army of the allies, which conſiſts of ſixty thouſand men, is in full march for the frontiers of Attica. A few days ago exact liſts of the land and naval forces of Athens were laid before an aſſembly of the people. The troops of various kinds deſigned for the land ſervice amount to 31,800 men; but their fleet, upon which they principally depend, may be eaſily completed to 300 galleys; with part of which they intend to guard their own coaſt, and to ravage thoſe of their enemies; and with the reſt to raiſe contributions from their allies for the ſervice of the war.

The generality of people here were very eager in promoting ſuch meaſures as had an immediate tendency to bring on a war; but they muſt ſoon begin to feel the inconveniencies of one. PERICLES has declared, that they will never carry it on with any proſpect of ſucceſs, unleſs they rely entirely on their fleet; ſince their land army is not ſtrong enough to keep the field againſt the united force of Peloponneſus. He has farther told them, that they

muſt abandon and lay waſte the country about Athens, in order to deprive the enemies of ſubſiſtence, during the time of their invaſion. In conſequence of his advice, the town is filling daily with vaſt numbers out of the country, who have deſtroyed their houſes, tranſported their cattle and goods into the neighbouring iſlands, and are come to ſeek a lodging in the houſes of their friends and relations. But the greateſt part of the multitude muſt take up their quarters in the empty places of the city, and even in the temples. This removal, though complied with, is very inconvenient and diſagreeable to many families; who, after having lived quietly in the country ever ſince the Perſian invaſion, and followed the innocent occupations of a rural life, are now obliged to leave their paternal ſeats and houſehold gods, and to exchange repoſe and peace, for arms, hurry, and fatigue. However, this meaſure, though it appears hard, is very neceſſary; for as there is no town in Attica, except Athens, large enough to receive the inhabitants of the country, they would, if they continued there, be expoſed to the diſmal alternative of falling by the ſword of the enemy, or of ſeeing their poſſeſſions ruined, and themſelves made captives. PERICLES, like a wiſe ſtateſman, deſpiſes the murmurs of his opponents; and well underſtanding where the true ſtrength of his country lies, is haſtening the equipment of a large ſquadron, which I hear is intended to lay waſte Peloponneſus, and oblige the allies, either to keep their forces at

home for the defence of their coaſts, or retire out of the Athenian territories upon the firſt news of their own being invaded. Solemn ſacrifices have been offered at the ſhrines of all their gods, and particularly at that of MINERVA, the patroneſs of Athens, for protection againſt the attempts of their enemies. But you know, noble ſatrap, that the great OROMASDES vouchſafes not his aſſiſtance to thoſe who make the moſt coſtly oblations, but to thoſe who addreſs him with the pureſt intentions. If this war has been undertaken in ſupport of the honor and independence of Athens, what can be a more proper ſtep than to appeal to the juſtice of providence? But if it owes its riſe to motives of ambition, not of ſafety; of intereſt, not injuries; do not they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhments, who call down the vengeance of their gods on others, whilſt themſelves are really the offenders? Ought not thoſe miſeries, to which they devote their neighbours, to fall with double weight upon their own heads? Adieu. P.

LETTER IV.

CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS, *one of the ſeven Counſellors of State to the King of Perſia, and General of his Army.*

MY letters to the Perſian miniſters have given early and faithful accounts of the opening of the preſent war, and the ſteps which

have been hitherto taken by each party. But I know your penetrating eye is not contented with ſurveying the outward appearances of things; your curioſity invites you, and your ſagacity enables you, to ſearch into the moſt refined ſecrets of policy, to examine the conſtitutions of different ſtates, and, from the natural diſpoſitions of the people and the tempers of their rulers, to divine their future conduct. The reſult of theſe inquiries is applied to the honor of your maſter, and the ſervice of his people. I remember, when plenipotentiaries were ſent to conclude that inglorious peace with Athens, after the victories of CIMON, you foretold, that if we would let the Grecks alone, they would deſtroy themſelves. The prophecy is at laſt fulfilled; the chief ſtates of Greece, headed by Athens and Lacedæmon, have begun a war, which, according to all appearances, will be long, bloody, and active. Ambition and reſentment equally inflame both parties: the Athenians contend for the preſervation of the authority they poſſeſs; the Lacedæmonians for the recovery of that which they formerly enjoyed. The naval force of the one will for the preſent turn the ſcale of the war generally in their favor; the indefatigable induſtry of the other may, in a courſe of years, incline it to themſelves. The luxury and licentiouſneſs, which begin to corrupt the ancient ſimplicity of Athens, may in time damp the efforts of her ambition; the patience and diſcipline of Lacedæmon will make amends for what they want in vivacity and addreſs. However fatal the

effects of these civil discords may prove to Greece, Persia has reason to rejoice at them; it will be her part to add perpetual fuel to the flame already kindled, with supplies of men and money to the weakest. By pursuing such measures, the great king, from being contemned and ridiculed by every petty republic, will become courted and esteemed by the greatest. That respect, which in the times of THEMISTOCLES they would not have shown to his sacred person, they will now pay more obsequiously to the meanest of his satraps; and the Persians, from being styled barbarians, will be esteemed by the party they assist as the deliverers of Greece.

PERICLES is the great conductor of the war; but whether he promotes it through a regard for the interests of his country, or of himself, is uncertain. I have already mentioned the accusations of his enemies, who attribute it wholly to motives of the latter sort. I can only add, that I am informed, that before my arrival, impeachments were brought against several of his friends, as PHIDIAS, ASPASIA, and ANAXAGORAS; nor had he any reason to boast of success in bringing them off. The statuary was unjustly condemned; the lady's acquittal he procured by tears and earnest supplications to her judges; and the philosopher he was obliged to send out of the town. The opposite party, to harass him farther, obtained a decree, that he should produce exact accounts of the public monies which had been laid out by his direction. These circumstances

being put together, I think it not improbable, that he has fallen in with the diſpoſitions for war, in order to diſpel thoſe clouds of enmity and malice, by finding his reſtleſs countrymen more important occupations. But he will never let them manage it as they pleaſe; and whilſt he continues in power, peace or war will be determined, not by the votes of a headſtrong multitude, but the calm reſolves of his own prudence and deep penetration. Such is the influence which his great abilities, particularly his maſterly talent of ſpeaking, give him, over a people the moſt difficult of all others to be controuled or contradicted. Another part of his conduct, which contributes not a little to eſtabliſh his authority, is, that every body knows, though the whole revenues of Athens have paſſed many years through his hands, he has ſpent them all in rendering his native country the envy and admiration of ſtrangers, by the magnificence of its buildings, without improving in the leaſt his own paternal inheritance. Forgive, ſage MEGABYZUS, the length of this diſpatch, and attribute it to my deſire of obeying your commands with exactneſs. May you always continue a ſupport and ſafeguard to the throne of your prince; may you no more experience the adverſities of fortune, and the fickleneſs of court favor; but long enjoy without envy thoſe high offices and dignities, to which your paſt ſervices and merits ſo juſtly entitle you. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER V.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES, *firſt Chamberlain to the King of* Perſia.

IT has proved the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance of my employment, that I have not yet been able to write to my friends; who, I hope, do not imagine, that becauſe I have reſided a few months at Athens, I have quite forgotten the relation I bear to Perſia; or that becauſe I am engaged in the offices of a political life, I therefore intend to diſregard thoſe of the ſocial. To deal frankly with you, though you are a courtier, I thought it my duty to prefer buſineſs of a public nature, to amuſements of a private one; and to make my employment ſit eaſy upon me by a little practice, before I turned my thoughts another way. And beſides, I was not inclined to ſend imperfect accounts of a nation, whilſt I was a ſtranger to it: ſuch a proceeding would have been diſingenuous and ridiculous. The firſt queſtion you would probably have me reſolve, is, what peculiar difference I find in the manners of Greece and Perſia; ſince cuſtom has placed as many marks of diſtinction in the civil manners of every nation, as Providence has diſplayed in the natural bodies of each individual. I will tell you, then, a Perſian would find nothing more ſurpriſing, than the unbounded freedom of action and converſation which reigns here. The counſels of the great king are impenetrable;

we diſcover nothing of them till they take effect; whilſt here every meaſure is known long before it is put in execution, and canvaſſed with as much liberty in common converſation, as in the aſſemblies of the people. We approach our mighty monarch with poſtures of adoration, and addreſs him in language which is uſed to the Deity. At Athens the magiſtrates are diſtinguiſhed more by being virulently abuſed, than by any mark of authority. PERICLES himſelf is ſure to be the object aimed at by every one, who writes either ſcandalous libels to be diſperſed about the city, or performances deſigned for public repreſentation. The actors themſelves ſometimes appear upon the ſtage in maſks, which are made exactly to reſemble the face of the perſon ridiculed. The Perſian magnificence appears moſt at their entertainments; the Athenian, at their ſolemn feſtivals. The Aſiatic feaſts are remarkable for the vaſt quantities of proviſions, the coſtlineſs of the preparations, and the ſumptuous furniture; the chief recommendation of a Greek one is, the elegance and variety of the converſation, which induced an Athenian to make this obſervation; "Our entertainments not "only pleaſe, when we give them, but the "day after." The Aſiatic taſte and grandeur appear in the palaces of their princes and ſatraps; the Grecian in the temples of their gods, and the public buildings. Not a nobleman in Perſia but ſhows his rank by the richneſs of his dreſs, and the number of his attendants;

whereas here you cannot diſtinguiſh a citizen from a ſlave by his habit; and the wealthieſt Athenian, the moſt conſiderable perſon in the city, is not aſhamed to go to market himſelf. In Perſia the eyes of all are turned toward the ſovereign, and they regulate their conduct by his: in the free republics of Greece the people are king, and reſemble other monarchs in their bad qualities more than in their good ones; for they are fickle and imperious, ſevere and obſtinate. I have in this letter juſt ſketched the great outlines, which mark the difference of manners between Greece and Aſia: I may perhaps give the picture a few more touches, if it appears that what I have already performed has afforded entertainment. I deſire you would not fail to ſend me the chit-chat of the court, and the news ſtirring in the centre of the empire. Conſider, to a man employed abroad, the moſt trifling occurrences, which turn his thoughts to his country and friends, are intereſting. I wiſh you length of days in the poſt you at preſent poſſeſs, ſince you have gained the ear of your ſovereign without flattery, and can amuſe him, without liſtening for materials to the idle ſtories of ſlanderers and tale-bearers. Farewel.

From Athens. P.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to* ARTAXERXES *King of* Perſia, *to* CLEANDER *at* Athens.

THY diligence in ſending ſpeedy advices, and thy judgment in chuſing ſuch as are material and intereſting, have met with deſerved approbation at the Perſian court. Thy letters are ordered by the council to be depoſited in the archives of the empire; and the great ſovereign of the Eaſt himſelf has deigned to caſt a gracious eye on the labors of his ſervant, to expreſs the ſatisfaction they have given him, and to aſſure you of his royal favor; an honor, CLEANDER, which I know will inſpire thee with induſtry, to undergo the difficulties of thy employment; with reſolution, to confront the dangers of it; and with zeal to ſerve a prince, whoſe benign influence (like that of the radiant Mithras) extends to every part of his empire, and makes itſelf felt by the meaneſt ſlave who approaches it. The contents of thy diſpatches afford pleaſure to every Perſian. ARIMANIUS dooms the ſons of Greece to irreſiſtible perdition; he inflames their minds with civil diſcord; and turns the weapons, which were ſharpened againſt us, into their own boſoms. O may this accurſed being, the origin of ill, ſatiated with the misfortunes that have befallen the kingdom of CYRUS, exert for the future his baneful power amongſt our enemies; and not only arm Greece againſt itſelf, but inſtil the venom of ſedition and diſcontent into each

particular ſtate! I ſee by your letters, that a conſiderable party in Athens are engaged in a warm oppoſition to the meaſures of PERICLES; and no doubt the courſe of a long and expenſive war will afford them many opportunities to ruin his credit with the people. You cannot perform a more important ſervice, than by encouraging any project to diſtreſs him; for I wiſh no worſe to Athens, than that he may experience the fortune of THEMISTOCLES, and find like him that eſteem and kindneſs amongſt ſtrangers which his ungrateful countrymen refuſe him. However, all the inſtructions of this nature muſt be left to your own diſcretion, as you are upon the ſpot, and have better lights to conduct yourſelf by, than any you can receive from hence. Fail not to intermix your hiſtorical diſpatches with accounts of the conſtitutions of the different governments of Greece, the diſpoſitions and cuſtoms of the people, and the characters of the ruling men. I foreſee, that the part we ſhall be obliged to take in their affairs will make ſuch informations abſolutely neceſſary; and bring us into a more familiar acquaintance with the nations amongſt whom you reſide. I dare ſay, thou always beareſt in mind the importance of the truſt repoſed in thee; and the ſubmiſſion and readineſs, with which it is thy duty to receive and execute the orders of the monarch of Aſia, whoſe power of rewarding his faithful ſervants is equalled by nothing, but the bounty which he diſplays in doing it.

From the court at Ecbatana. P.

LETTER VII.

HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

THY curious and diſcerning eye, which dwells not upon ſuperficial matters or common occurrences, but pries into the more hidden ſprings of political meaſures and ſecret reaſons of ſtate, enables thee to be eminently ſerviceable to the miniſters of our mighty empire: and thou faileſt not to entertain thy friends with novelties relating to the conſtitution of thoſe republics, which are eſtabliſhed upon a plan of government ſo different from ours. But the more eagerly thy epiſtles are here received on theſe accounts, the greater difficulty doſt thou impoſe upon thy friends to find any thing worth ſending thee in return. As to what relates more particularly to thy inſtructions, it belongs only to the ſecretaries and great counſellors of our awful monarch to correſpond with thee; and any thing farther of the politics or intrigues of this court thou canſt not expect from them who are but rarely admitted into the cabinet. But ſince, as you obſerve, the moſt trivial concerns are in ſome ſort intereſting to one in your circumſtances, from a place which he eſteems his home, I will write, if it be but upon trifles, that have nothing further to recommend them, than that they travel ſo far, and that they are ſent from the court of Ecbatana. The plague, which had

cauſed ſo great a mortality in Perſia, and had long caſt a damp upon all the gaieties of our court, is nearly over in theſe parts. And though ſuch public calamities, while they laſt, or are juſt freſh upon the minds of men, tend naturally to occaſion ſerioufneſs, and to give the moſt careleſs a ſhort interval of ſober thinking, yet we too commonly find, that they are no ſooner removed, than the impreſſion of them begins to wear off; and thoſe who had of late but narrowly eſcaped the danger, return only with a keener appetite to their former pleaſures. And thus I may ſay it happens at this time; never was the court of Perſia more ſplendid; never did extravagancies in dreſs and gallantry run higher. The faſhions indeed, which ſo univerſally prevail among us, we know, were of Median original, and had their riſe firſt in this place, before it became the metropolis of united kingdoms, and whilſt the Medes and Perſians were a ſeparate people. But though compared with the Perſian plainneſs in the reign of CYRUS, the Medes might then ſeem advanced to the firſt pitch of luxury; yet poſterity have ſo well improved upon them, that old ASTYAGES himſelf, with his politeſt courtiers, would now make an awkward appearance at Ecbatana. We have here lately ſolemnized the nuptials of the great ſatrap of Bactria, ARASPES, with ARTAMINTA, daughter of the governor of Sardis, who is eſteemed one of the firſt beauties of this court, and is a reigning favorite of the empreſs; and for the greater magnificence, the ceremony was

performed in the royal gardens. And as if the natural beauties of the place in this delightful ſeaſon had not been enough to have charmed every ſenſe, a pompous colonnade, of a ſtupendous height, was erected in the middle of a ſpacious lawn. Through this the company were conducted to a ſtately pavilion, that aſcended by ſeveral ſteps, covered over with a canopy of the richeſt embroidery of gold and ſilver, and a thicket of bloſſoming greens ſurrounded it [1], when the embowering ſhades alone would formerly have been thought upon any occaſion the moſt agreeable ſhelter from the noon-day heat. Upon a ſofa of ſtate, at the upper end, ſat the ſupreme monarch of the Eaſt; and on another his conſort by him: a little lower the nuptial rites were celebrated, and the happy ARASPES joined his hands with the beauteous ARTAMINTA. The other moſt diſtinguiſhed ſatraps ſtood about the throne, and the reſt of the gaudy retinue attended at an humbler diſtance below. The company afterwards adjourned into another part of the gardens, where with equal ſplendor the nuptial feaſt was prepared. I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe the luxurious dainties that were ſerved up, neither ſhall I attempt to ſet forth the ſumptuous finery of thoſe who adorned the nuptials; nor canſt thou take any pleaſure in hearing, that the

[1] Ἐν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει ἐκ ἀρχῆσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων, οὔθ' αἱ πέτρων σκιαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις ἑτέρας σκιὰς ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον.
Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyr. lib. viii. ed. Franc. p. 241. C.

youth of Perſia, upon whom depend our hopes of maintaining the monarchy of the world, ſhould be [2] more exact in perfuming their hair, curling it in ringlets, and enlivening their complexion with artificial waſhes, than the ſofteſt even of the female ſex. Amongſt thoſe who made the moſt gallant appearance, was the young Orsames, the ſon of Artæus, preſident of the tribunal of juſtice, and a relation of Artaminta. His dreſs indeed was extremely rich, and ſuitable to the occaſion; but the unaffected graces of his perſon, which owe nothing to the diſguiſe of art, made him appear with a manly eaſe in every motion, that, as it turns our eſteem upon him, makes the effeminate airs of the reſt appear more ridiculous. He ſeems by nature and inclination to be formed to virtue, and has acquired all thoſe noble accompliſhments, for which the Perſian education was ſo famed of old: and with a laudable thirſt after knowledge and improvement, he deſires to acquaint himſelf with the arts, learning, and policy of other countries. He is therefore ſetting out upon the tour of Egypt and Greece; and waited only for theſe nuptials to be over before he went. To ſatisfy your curioſity and his own, he deſires by me to be recommended to you, having a deſign to correſpond with you from diſtant parts, and will take pleaſure to be inſtructed by your letters in the manners and cuſtoms of Greece before he arrives there. But I muſt not omit

[2] Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri. lib. viii. Herod. lib. ix.

to inform you how the grand ſolemnity ended: after the banquet was over, when the cool and pleaſant time of the evening came on, the artificial muſic, which had for a while given place to the ſweeter harmony of ten thouſand nightingales, that warble through thoſe groves, and whoſe notes upon this occaſion ſeemed inſpired with a more raviſhing melody, ſtruck up at once from all the various inſtruments of ſound in full concert. The company was then diſperſed through different walks, that all centered upon the pavilion, where the great monarch, his queen, with the other chief ſatraps, ſat to enjoy the ſweets of the evening. When the twilight had now given place to the darker ſhades of night, in an inſtant the gloom was diſperſed, and it ſeemed as if a whole firmament of ſtars had ſhot up among the trees to renew at once their intermingled lights, and rival the blaze of day. The birds were awakened by the deceit, and began again their enchanting ſtrains more ſweetly than when the early beams of MITHRAS are firſt diſplayed from behind the curtains of the eaſt. The nuptial hymn compoſed by the Mage THIAMIS was ſung by ſix comely youths, and as many blooming virgins clad in white, and the happy pair were conducted to the genial bed.

From Ecbatana. L.

LETTER VIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to* ARTAXERXES *King of* Perſia.

I RECEIVED thy diſpatch with due reverence; I kiſſed the royal ſignet, and bowed my head in token of ſubmiſſion to the commands of the ſovereign of the Eaſt, tranſmitted by his faithful miniſter. Thy commendations, illuſtrious ſcribe, are of more value in my ſight, than all the treaſures of Aſia; and I look upon the gracious acceptance which the mighty ARTAXERXES vouchſafes my ſervices, as a nobler reward, than if he beſtowed on me the moſt potent ſatrapy in the whole Perſian empire. Since my *laſt letters*, the war has been carried on with greater preparation than effect; and the blood yet ſpilt has rather ſerved to exaſperate both parties, than to cool the reſentments of either.

The army of the allies, commanded by ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, advanced to the frontiers of Attica, and laid ſiege to Oenoe; but being repulſed in their attacks, they raiſed the ſiege, and advanced further into the country, till they came into an open town called Acharnæ, not ſixty furlongs from Athens, where they encamped. The Athenians, irritated at the boldneſs of the enemy, and ſenſibly afflicted to ſee their poſſeſſions ruined and waſted in their ſight, earneſtly deſired to ſally out of their walls, and come to an engagement; but PERICLES,

withſtanding both their preſſing deſires, and the ſevere railleries of his enemies, who reproached him with cowardice and ſtupidity, perſevered in declining ſo hazardous a meaſure; and, like a ſkilful pilote in a ſtorm, relied on his own ſuperior knowledge and experience, without regarding the cries or menaces of the ignorant paſſengers. Indeed it is ſurpriſing, that a ſingle man ſhould not only have authority enough to oppoſe the unanimous opinion of a headſtrong and mutinous people, in whoſe hands the ſupreme government is lodged; but even to hinder any aſſembly from being called, leſt in the preſent heat ſome raſh reſolution might be taken. However, to keep up their ſpirits, and divert the ſtrength of the enemy, he ſent out a ſquadron of an hundred gallies with troops on board, who made deſcents, and ravaged the ſea-coaſts of Peloponneſus, and Laconia; which obliged the allies, after having conſumed their proviſions, to decamp and return home. The Athenians, as ſoon as they were retired, ſet apart a thouſand talents, and an hundred gallies for their defence againſt an invaſion by ſea; and made it capital for any one who ſhould move to have them applied to any other uſe. Thou wilt have a complete ſurvey of the theatre of the war, when I tell thee that it extends as far as Thrace, where the Athenians are now beſieging Potidæa, which, at the inſtigations of the Corinthians (their founders) and the Lacedæmonians, revolted from them, along with Chalcis and Botiæa, and were aſſiſted by PERDICCAS king

of Macedon. I juſt now learned, that he is reconciled to this ſtate by the mediation of SITALCES, a Thracian prince; and has engaged to join with PHORMIO, the Athenian general, againſt the Chalcideans.

As no action of importance has yet happened, I will not tire thy patience with tedious relations of every ſkirmiſh and trifling event. It will be more uſeful to let thee into the reaſons of PERICLES's conduct, which may appear to deſerve the name of timidity rather than of prudence; but he wiſely conſidered the extreme hazard of facing an enemy in the field, whoſe troops were ſuperior both in number and goodneſs to the Athenian; that a defeat would abſolutely ruin their affairs, and that a victory would not balance, in its advantages, the peril that attended it; ſince Peloponneſus could eaſily have recruited the conquered army; whilſt the lives of his citizens would be thrown away, and their attention drawn off from their naval ſtrength to the land ſervice, though their ſafety depends entirely on cultivating the former.

The head of the party in oppoſition to him is CLEON, the ſon of a currier, a perſon of an aſſuming and violent temper; rather formed to diſturb than ſerve his country; and with talents to make him a popular demagogue, but not a ſtateſman. PERICLES has no great reaſon to apprehend the weak attempts of a CLEON, when his power and influence over the Athenians has been ſufficient to baniſh CIMON and THUCYDIDES, men of real abilities and integrity: the name of the former can never be forgotten in

Perſia as long as it continues an empire. I am grieved to hear, that Aſia, when it has ſcarcely recovered the miſerable effects of war, is depopulated by a devouring peſtilence, whoſe ravages are equally fatal, but more extenſive, and whoſe contagion is alike dangerous to the cottage of the laborer and the palace of the prince. O may theſe puniſhments of the gods, which never come undeſerved, help us to throw off our luxurious and diſſolute manners, and to reſume the maſculine virtues and ſimplicity of the old Perſians; ſince ſo extenſive an inheritance, as the empire they tranſmitted to us, can never be preſerved but by the ſame arts that raiſed it! Excuſe my freedom, worthy miniſter, and remember it is the ſtrongeſt proof I can give thee of my fidelity. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER IX.

HIPPIAS *the Merchant to* CLEANDER *at* Athens.

IF any thing, my deareſt brother, could add to the pleaſure of hearing that you were ſafely arrived at Athens, it was, that you ſeem ſo ſenſible of the advantages accruing to a nation from an extended commerce: and indeed the ſtriking impreſſion which the bare view of a crowded port affords, is ocular demonſtration, and an argument of the moſt convincing kind. I wiſh either your ſpeculative or my

experimental knowledge may perſuade the Perſian miniſtry, that nothing tends ſo much as trade to the circulation of induſtry, wealth, and happineſs through a people; that it becomes a common tie to connect the diſtant parts of the moſt extended empire; and that, like veins in the natural body, it conveys life, warmth, and health, over the political. I found myſelf much inclined to fall into a train of reflections of this nature in a journey, partly of buſineſs, and partly of pleaſure, which I took lately to Ecbatana; and I will communicate to you the reſult of them. Three circumſtances, I am perſuaded, contribute to render the fine ſituation of Perſia for commerce almoſt uſeleſs: one is, that in all their great naval preparations againſt the Greeks, they have conſtantly furniſhed themſelves with ſhips and ſeamen from Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cilicia, inſtead of encouraging their natural ſubjects to imitate the trading nations who are tributary to them, on whom the marine of the empire at preſent entirely depends. Another obſtacle to trade ariſes from the late treaty with Athens, by one article of which it is agreed, "That no Perſian veſſel ſhall enter the ſeas, "which extend from the Pontus Euxinus to "the coaſts of Pamphilia; and that no Perſian "troops ſhall come within three days march "of thoſe ſeas." A third circumſtance, which is the moſt ſurpriſing of all, is, that they have contrived cataracts on the Tygris and Euphrates, to break the regular courſe of the ſtream, and to make the navigation of thoſe rivers difficult.

I mention this inſtance from my own obſervation, at it ſhows not only their utter inattention to improve their natural advantages, but, what is much worſe, a ſtupid obſtinacy to oppoſe the means with which bountiful nature has ſupplied them to facilitate the carriage of their manufactures and inland commerce. They pretend that theſe cataracts prevent the enterpriſes of enemies, who might endeavour to invade them by coming up theſe great rivers: but I think this apprehenſion as vain as the precaution is abſurd; for a naval force joined to the numerous land army which they keep up, would eaſily defeat any ſuch attempts. Since my abode at Ecbatana, I have frequently repreſented to the miniſters the advantages which muſt ariſe to the empire from deſtroying them, and I hope not quite ineffectually. I aſſure you, I am much pleaſed to take this opportunity of falling into my old train of thought; for I have lately led the life of a courtier rather than a merchant, to which the pleaſures of the place have not a little invited me. The recommendations with which the governor of Sardis honored me, and the friends you have here, contribute more to my good reception, than any merit of my own. I dare ſay your curioſity will expect ſome account of the city where I am; I ſhall therefore endeavour to gratify it.

You need not be informed that Ecbatana is the metropolis of Media, and was anciently the ſeat of the Median, as it is now of the Perſian, monarchs. It is ſituated on a riſing

ground, not far from Mount Orontes, in a country called, for its peculiar pleaſantneſs, "the garden of Perſia."

The city is contained within an enclofure of ſeven walls, gradually riſing one above another. The palace and the treaſury are built within the innermoſt circle of the ſeven, which is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the embelliſhment of a gold coloring. Ecbatana has the advantage of being ſurrounded by ſpacious plains, particularly thoſe of Nyſa, where the royal ſtuds of fifty thouſand horſes are kept. Theſe plains are bounded on one ſide by Mount Orontes, on the other by a large foreſt, amidſt whoſe lofty trees ariſe the country-ſeats of the Perſian nobility. I ſhould tire thee with deſcribing the ſolemnity of an audience of the great king; the magnificence with which he entertains the princes of the blood and the great ſatraps, and the pomp of his attendance, when he appears abroad: beſides, I forget that you are no ſtranger to the ſplendor of the Aſian court. As ſoon as it removes to Suſa, its winter reſidence, I ſhall return to my old ſcene of life at Epheſus: uncorrupted, I hope, by the pleaſures of the place, and I am ſure not infected with the leaſt tincture of a courtier's inſincerity, when I aſſure you of my warmeſt affections. Adieu.

From Ecbatana. P.

LETTER X.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER.

HYDASPES the chamberlain having informed thee of my intentions to correſpond with thee during my travels, thou wilt not therefore be ſurpriſed at receiving a letter from this place. And truly, though I am a ſtranger to thy perſon, yet the reputation thou beareſt here, not only for an approved capacity in buſineſs of the greateſt weight and importance, but for a genius of the moſt refined caſt and extenſive compaſs, may well ſave me the trouble of any apology for thus beginning an epiſtolary intercourſe. I have that eſteem for every man of diſtinguiſhed parts and an improved underſtanding, that I would find ſome way of recommending myſelf to ſuch a perſon, though he were in the moſt diſtant corners of the earth [3]. The city I am now at, which roſe upon the ruins of the ancient Nineveh, and was deſigned as much to eclipſe that famed feat of the old Aſſyrian empire, as the glory and power of its founder did that of Ninus, would have engaged me to have come hither by choice, had it not lain ſo direct in the tour of my travels, eſpecially at a time when the court being abſent, I can more leiſurely take a ſurvey of its admirable curioſities. But Babylon need not be particularly deſcribed to

[3] Herod. lib. i. c. 106. Ibid. c. 178.

thee, who haſt been perſonally thyſelf in moſt of the noble metropolis's of this empire, among which the monarch of the world is pleaſed to divide his time. Never ſure was any city built upon a more regular and magnificent plan; never was any better contrived for the healthfulneſs of its numerous inhabitants; ſo ſpacious are the ſtreets, ſo large the outlets for gardens and walks of pleaſure in the midſt of every ſquare of building; beſides which, the houſes ſtand ſo far aſunder, that one cannot in this city complain of living more cloſely, or of breathing a leſs pure air, than if one were placed in the midſt of the country; ſo truly does Babylon reconcile the two contrarieties of a town and a rural ſituation; and thoſe vaſt plains, which were left unbuilt by the Aſſyrian king, are, to ſpeak literally, a wide country, with champain, corn fields, and paſture, all encloſed within walls and fortreſſes. By the civility of ARTABAZUS the governor, I was ſhown the vaſt extent of this city in the moſt convenient manner upon the walls; and for the greater eaſe, we made a journey of two days in going round it. Could human ſtrength have reſiſted the decrees of deſtiny, or of that over-ruling power, which governs the world, and had ordained for CYRUS the eſtabliſhment of a glorious empire, it might have been thought, that this place of all others was impregnable, defended with gates of braſs, and encompaſſed with theſe ſtupendous walls. But that which the Aſſyrian thought would complete the glory of his mighty works,

expoſed

expoſed the city to be taken; and thoſe impaſſable moraſſes, which have overflooded the plains of Babylon, and ſpread over an unmeaſurable tract of land, ſince the mounds of Pallacopas were blown up, upon CYRUS's turning the river into it, are a laſting monument of vain expenſe, deſigned to perpetuate his memory. It is reported that after NABUCHODROSOR had finiſhed theſe magnificent works [4], he foreſaw, to mortify his pride, and foretold by a prophetic ſpirit, that Babylon would be taken. The famous prophecy he uttered upon the occaſion was written by the prieſts of Belus, and found long ſince in the archives of their temple [5]. That famous ſtructure was much damaged by XERXES, and ſtript of the rich ſtatues of the Aſſyrian gods, and the ſacred utenſils; but the walls and towers are left ſtanding, though not yet repaired, as was intended. My curioſity led me up one fine afternoon to the top of it; and it was with infinite ſurpriſe and pleaſure I ſurveyed, in the aſcent, the ſcene that preſented itſelf below. As far as the eye could reach, appeared the moſt regular diverſity of pomp and magnificence. Here a vaſt expanſe of palaces and ſtately buildings ſeemed to cover the whole plain beneath, and to terminate the wide

[4] Abydenus ap. Euſeb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41.

[5] Arrian. lib. vii. dicit hoc templum a Xerxe ſubverſum fuiſſe, ſed Herodotus Xerxi diu ſuperſtes, cum in templi hujus mentionem incidit, habet hæc verba, Διὸς Βήλου ἱερὸν χαλκόπυλον, ᾧ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐὸν. Clio. c. 181.

horizon, except where the diſtant waters of the great moraſs were juſt diſcernible by the reflection of the rays of the declining ſun. Below me lay the remains of the ancient palace, which takes up four miles in circumference; and facing it, on the weſtern banks of the river that ſuperb new one, which exceeds all deſcription, and ſtands upon twice the compaſs of ground with the former. There roſe the gardens of AMYTIS, which ſeem to hang pendulous in air; nor does the ſtrength of thoſe arches (ſuch is the exquiſite contrivance of the work) appear as any ſupport to the terraces and foreſts of the largeſt trees that are mounted above them. By the time we had reached the utmoſt ſummit, the cheerful glow of the ſetting ſun began to grow fainter in the weſtern clouds; but as the glorious proſpect vaniſhed underneath, from the diſtance and the duſk of the evening, another more beautiful broke out above in thoſe myriads of twinkling lights, which diverſify the heavens, in the abſence of the radiant MITHRAS. We were then got up to the obſervatory, and found the ſages in aſtronomy beginning their curious contemplations. They very courteouſly marked out to me a ſcheme of the heavens in the heavens themſelves. 'Tis theirs to number the ſtars, and know them diſtinctly by their names; to obſerve when they riſe and ſet, and to reduce their greateſt wanderings to fixed and certain rules. Thus raiſed as it were betwixt earth and heaven, above the noiſe and tumult of human affairs, I fancied myſelf in

the neighbourhood of the celeſtial bodies, converſing with them, as they moved through the ſerene ether in their ſilent courſes. How noble and ſtupendous beyond all the maſter-pieces of art did nature then appear! how immenſe and aſtoniſhing! how boundleſs and infinite! The thoughts that then ſwelled in my breaſt, are too big for utterance; I was dumb with rapture and amazement; I fell on my face and adored the everlaſting Oromasdes. When compared with theſe his works, how mean are the moſt ſplendid glories of the Perſian empire! how little and contemptible; they flatten — they diminiſh — they ſhrink into nothing!

From Babylon. L.

LETTER XI.

Cleander *to* Otanes, *Superintendant of the Royal Palaces, etc.*

As ſoon as I am at leiſure to turn my thoughts to any other concerns than thoſe of the great king, thine (as this may ſerve to convince thee) are the uppermoſt in my mind. I have, as thou gaveſt me in charge, applied myſelf of late to the ſurveying of this renowned city, which is divided into two parts, the upper and lower. The upper, which is the more ancient, and was formerly the whole of it, is, in its preſent grandeur, almoſt entirely occupied by the public buildings, ſuch as the citadel, the temples of the gods, and the courts of judicature:

the lower, which is guarded by a fort called Munychia, is laid out in an infinite number of ſtreets, and communicates with the two havens, the Piræus and Phalereus, by two walls of moſt amazing ſtrength, and more than forty ſtadiums long; theſe and the citadel were built partly by CIMON, and partly by THEMISTOCLES. Some here ſcruple not to ſay, that the circumference of the whole is more than a day's journey, and even thoſe who are moſt moderate affirm it to be above five paraſangs; and doubtleſs, if one were to form a judgment of the ſtrength and power of the Athenians from the ſtate and magnificence of this metropolis, it would ſurpaſs all that has been reported of them. For to a Perſian it would ſeem incredible, that the capital of a people, whoſe dominions exceed not in extent thoſe of many an inferior ſatrap in the ſhining court, ſhould equal in dimenſions and grandeur the moſt ſumptuous of thoſe where the lord of Aſia deigns to reſide. For the ornamental parts, it is chiefly indebted to the care and genius of PERICLES; who, with a ſoul graſping at and capable of executing all things, thought it not enough to aggrandize the ſtate, except he ſhould at the ſame time adorn it equally; not content to make it the moſt powerful, he reſolved alſo to make it the moſt beautiful city in Greece. By the encouragement and large rewards which he offered, he drew together the moſt celebrated artiſts in each kind from all parts of the world: their numbers ſoon inſpired them with an emulation of excelling each other; and where all were excellent, it

was to loſe reputation to produce any thing that was not perfect in its kind. Hence it is, potent lord, that it exceeds all power of words to expreſs, or imagination to conceive, the beauties that are diſplayed in ſome of their principal buildings. Thoſe dedicated to the gods eſpecially might ſeem not unworthy of immortal natures; there is a grandeur, as well as a ſimplicity, which raviſhes one at the firſt ſight; they are all of them finiſhed upon the moſt exquiſite models; not blazing indeed with gold or precious ſtones, but poliſhed with a care and delicacy, that would give value to the meaneſt materials, and that ſurpaſſes the brighteſt glow and the moſt diverſified irradiations of color. That temple in particular, which is called the PARTHENON, and dedicated to MINERVA, the guardian and protectreſs of ATHENS, as it is the largeſt, ſo it is the moſt complete; its length is an hundred and fifty cubits, and the breadth about ſixty-five: the outſide adorned with a beautiful colonnade, which ſerves to ſupport the bold projections of a moſt curious entablature. On entering and ſurveying the inſide, I found myſelf delighted and ſurpriſed, without knowing the particular cauſe; till, on further conſideration, I perceived that this was owing to the exact ſymmetry and happy adjuſtments of each part. I was convinced, that the proportions obſerved in this were the trueſt and moſt natural that can be; and will, if I foreſee aright, be a pattern for imitation to all ſucceeding times. There is, there muſt be, ſomething fixed and rational in this, as well as

all other objects of the mind. Why else do the ſtupendous works of Babylon, and the ſo celebrated temple of DIANA, which my native Epheſus boaſts, though they amaze and awe, yet fail of pleaſing us? And whence is it that, though none but the moſt conſummate artiſt is capable of deſigning what is truly great and majeſtic, yet all admire and approve what is ſo, when finiſhed? Happy? PERICLES, whoſe name ſhall live, not in theſe auguſt buildings only, but in all which deſerve the admiration of mankind to the lateſt poſterity! It was from a ſenſe of this, that he ſilenced the clamors of his enemies, and put a ſtop to the complaints of his fellow-citizens, in relation to the great charge of theſe edifices. He offered to pay the expenſe of all that was done, on condition that he might have the reputation of deſigning and raiſing ſo many illuſtrious monuments. Beſides this, the moſt remarkable temples are thoſe dedicated to NEPTUNE to CASTOR and POLLUX, and THESEUS; nor can it fail to give every Perſian the ſame pleaſure it did me, when he ſhall know, that another of their moſt ſtately buildings, the Odeum or muſic theatre, is built after the model of that pavilion which ſhades the ſacred head of the moſt powerful monarch in the univerſe. It would be endleſs to recount the other buildings, which riſe on all ſides around me; nor will I attempt at preſent to deſcribe the fine paintings, or enumerate the beautiful ſtatues, which people, as it were, every corner of the city. Theſe are all done under the direction, and moſt of

them by the hand of PHIDIAS, an artiſt ſo extraordinary, as to be worthy the encouragement of our great monarch, and who, when ſupported by his munificence, might exceed all that the world has ever ſeen in that way; and yet this ſo excellent a maſter has lately, out of ſpite to PERICLES his patron, been caſt into priſon, and is ſuffered to languiſh there in daily expectation of death. Such is the reward of all his labors from an ungrateful city! Thou art happy, OTANES, in ſerving a maſter who will not value thee leſs becauſe thou deſerveſt to be valued more. Let it be thy ambition to render thoſe ſplendid apartments, committed to thy care, worthy of their royal gueſt; and if the Athenians ſcruple not to imitate the Aſiatic barbarians (as they inſolently call us) in one of their buildings, nor do thou diſdain to tranſcribe other excellencies from them. Bluſh not to copy after maſters, whoſe natural bent and genius lie towards theſe arts; who, deſpiſing all uſeleſs oſtentation, and laughing at the cumbrous unformed buildings of the Eaſt, have firſt ſhowed the world, "that convenience is not "incompatible with ſtate, nor true magnifi-"cence deſtitute of real uſe." Adieu!

From Athens. R.

LETTER XII.

CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS, *one of the seven Counsellors of State to the King of* Persia.

IT was no inconsiderable part of the wise instructions which thou gavest me, before my voyage to this city, that I should write you a particular account of every remarkable custom, as well as extraordinary incident that occurred during my abode here. I know how much thou grievest in secret for the degeneracy of Persia; and thy design requiring this intelligence, with a view to the improvement of our own country by remarks on the manners of others, is agreeable to the wisdom of thy ministry, and the greatness of thy soul. A design truly glorious, and praise-worthy! in comparison whereof, the history of the vast armies and ravages of XERXES may be considered as the chaff before the wind; and which will perpetuate the name of MEGABYZUS to the latest posterity.

The Athenians have a law amongst them, which enjoins that all those who die fighting in the cause of their country, shall at the end of every campaign be buried at the public charge, and their children maintained by the state till they arrive at the age of manhood. The first year of the war is now over, and the winter season is advanced upon us. Accordingly, the ceremonies thus instituted were

performed a few days ſince; and I had the pleaſure of ſeeing every part of them. To tell thee my opinion freely, I never was ſo much delighted with the pomp and ſplendor of the court of Suſa, as with the honeſt plainneſs of theſe republican ſolemnities. The whole was conducted after this manner.

About three days before the funeral, the bones of the ſlain were placed in a tent raiſed on purpoſe, ſo that every perſon might have an opportunity to frequent them, and pay them the laſt tribute of a tear. All ſorts of odoriferous herbs and flowers were ſtrewed around the tent; and each man brought ſome in his hand, that he might conſecrate them to the manes of his favorite friend. On the fourth day a coffin of cypreſs was ſent from every tribe, to carry off the bones of their own members. After which went an empty covered hearſe, in memory of thoſe who could not be found. The proceſſion was carried on with a peculiar decency of ſorrow, while great numbers of inhabitants, both ſtrangers and citizens, aſſiſted in the train of mourners. The parents of the deceaſed attended at the ſepulchre to weep. No eye could reſrain from tears; and the melancholy diſtreſs which appeared in the faces of all alike, ſeemed but a true copy of the ſentiments of all. The bones were accompanied in this manner to the public place of burial, (which is ſituated in a pleaſant ſpot without the city, called Ceramicus,) and committed to the ground. The monument erected to the valor of theſe citizens was adorned with pillars, trophies, and inſcriptions,

ſuch as are uſual about the tombs of the moſt honorable perſons. The ceremony was concluded with one ſpeech in praiſe of them all, and PERICLES was the orator to whom that taſk was aſſigned. It is impoſſible for any man, who has not heard him, to conceive the ſtrength and ſolidity of his thoughts, the grace and dignity of his action, the elegance and ſimplicity of his diction. For my own part, I was enchanted with the power of his eloquence. His countrymen ſay of him very juſtly, that he harangues in an imperial ſtrain. Hence they have given him the ſirname of OLYMPUS, intimating, probably, that, like their god JUPITER, he thunders when he ſpeaks. To this I may add, that the melody of his voice, the air of his countenance, the very manner of his dreſs, has ſomething of an engaging and commanding gravity, which at once charms and aſtoniſhes his audience.

The main ſcope of his ſpeech, was to animate the living with reſolution, by commending the courage of the dead; to infuſe a ſpirit of patriotiſm into the minds of his fellow-citizens, by celebrating that principle of action, which incites the valiant to battle. He told them, that ſuch men, though they failed in their attempt, were not wanting in glory to themſelves or their country; that they would for ever receive, inſtead of their lives, an immortal monument of praiſe (not ſo much that wherein their bodies are now laid, as a more illuſtrious one in the memory of future ages). For to men of fame, all the earth is a ſepulchre,

and reſpect ſhall be paid to their virtue, not only by inſcriptions and trophies at home; but by unwritten records of the heart in all nations of the world, which, more than any kind of periſhable monument, will remain to eternity. In imitation, therefore, of theſe men, continued he, and placing happineſs in liberty, and liberty in valor, be forward to encounter the dangers of war. He ſet before them the reputation of dying with their ſwords in their hands, for a commonwealth ſo renowned and ſo noble as that of Athens. In diſplaying the extent and greatneſs of its dominion, he took occaſion to flatter the people, in aſcribing it chiefly to the prudence of their conduct, the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline, and the bravery of their arms. He extolled the freedom and independency of their conſtitution; that they were all governed by the law, whoſe protection was equally extended to the poor and the rich, to the weak as well as powerful; that the merit and induſtry of every citizen made his way to preferment, without any perſonal diſtinction whatſoever; in ſhort, that where the rewards of virtue are the greateſt, there live the greateſt men. He cloſed his ſpeech with a particular addreſs to the different ages and ſexes of thoſe who heard him, and diſmiſſed the multitude.

As ſoon as Pericles had deſcended from the roſtra, the people followed him to his houſe with loud acclamations of joy; and the ſenſe of every man's ſorrow for the loſs of his relations was changed into the higheſt encomiums

on their happineſs and fame. The merits of the deceaſed were drawn in the moſt lively colors by the partial imaginations of friends. Even thoſe who had been their competitors in the poſts of glory, and had envied their reputation while living, now honor them with affection when dead. Each man ſeems ſtudious of ſerving the widows and orphans of thoſe he loved; and the ſtate of Athens, with the tenderneſs of a kind parent, is expreſſing thoſe ſentiments of gratitude to the offspring of her brave defenders, which ſhe cannot expreſs to themſelves; a cuſtom ſo juſt and laudable, ſo conſiſtent with the wiſeſt maxims of good policy, that it muſt be left to your judgment to determine, if the conſtitution of Perſia is not in ſome degree defective for the want of it. Pardon the vehemence of the expreſſion; but this I will venture to affirm, that nothing can tend, in a ſtronger manner, to animate the ſoft and degenerate troops of Aſia to emulate the valor of their generous anceſtors, than rewards and encouragements of the ſame nature, propoſed to military virtue. Herein then let us imitate the republic of Athens, and be in no wiſe aſhamed to learn uſeful improvements from the warmeſt of our foes. I would aſk only one queſtion; Can any man, who ſhall chance to fall a victim to his enemies in the heat of battle, and conſiders, in his laſt and departing moments, that his obſequies ſhall be honorably performed at the charge of his fellow-citizens, that his friends ſhall pay reſpect to his memory by their praiſe, that his children ſhall be

educated by the care and prudence of the public; can such a man hesitate one moment, whether he hath done rightly in forfeiting his life, however precious, to the fame of his own character, to the service of his own children, to the general and lasting benefit of his country?

This is a custom, O thou sage MEGABYZUS, which, if ever it be practised among us, will establish the throne of our mighty master, not on the frail and unstable foundations of pomp and luxury, of force and power, of dissimulation and craft; but on the popularity of the prince, and the industry and affection of his subjects; foundations of the regal authority so great and so noble, that the king, who would add weight to his sceptre, must reign by them, or govern against the happiness of his people, against the very rule, the very end of his government. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER XIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to* ARTAXERXES *King of* Persia.

I FORGOT not, sage minister, the directions thou gavest me, to send accounts of the constitutions of the different governments in Greece; and now the season of action is over, I find more leisure to prosecute such useful inquiries. I intend in this letter to lay before thee a description of the constitution of Athens, reducing

it to a compaſs conſiſtent, I hope, with accuracy, as well as entertainment.

Solon, their great legiſlator, formed their government chiefly on a popular plan: though from ſeveral inſtitutions of his it appears, that he deſigned to moderate the inconſtancy and violence of a democracy, by introducing a proper mixture of the ariſtocratical form. The firſt appointed, that none but thoſe who had a certain revenue ſhould be candidates for the great magiſtracies of the ſtate. The people, indeed, ſince the Perſian invaſion, have had influence enough to increaſe their power, by getting rid of this encumberance upon the ambition of the poorer ſort. The ſecond was, the eſtabliſhment of a ſenate, choſen annually out of each of the tribes. Solon, as a third reſtraint upon the people, a third anchor to prevent the republic's being carried away by the intrigues of factious rulers, or the irreſolution of weak ones, enlarged the authority of the Areopagus, their great court of judicature. He likewiſe very much diminiſhed the power of the nine archons, who have each ſeparate juriſdictions; as the firſt, for inſtance, gives a name to the year, determines in cauſes concerning wills and legacies, and inſpects the theatrical diverſions.

After this general ſketch of the Athenian conſtitution, I ſhall proceed to enter more particularly into the grand reſorts and ſprings, on which the movements of their political ſyſtem depend. The ſenate of five hundred is compoſed of fifty out of every one of the ten

tribes. No one can be admitted into it, without being at leaſt thirty years of age, and undergoing a ſtrict inquiry into his character. Before he takes his ſeat he binds himſelf by a ſolemn oath to adhere to the laws, and give advice to the people of Athens, according to the beſt of his abilities. Every tribe preſides in the ſenate in its turn (which is regulated by lot) for thirty-five days. Each company of preſidents are called Prytanes; and out of them the Proedroi, or ſet of preſidents for the week, are appointed. The preſident of the day called the Epiſtata, is one of the Proedroi, and has in his cuſtody the great ſeal, and the keys of the citadel and treaſure, and preſides likewiſe in the aſſemblies of the people. When the ſenate has made a decree, if it is ratified by the people, it paſſes into a law; if otherwiſe it continues in force only for a year. The matters which come under the cognizance of the ſenate are of the ſame ſort as thoſe which are brought before the people; and therefore may be referred to that head. At the expiration of the annual offices of the ſenators, if any ſhips of war have been built during their regency, the people decree them the honor of the crown; a remarkable inſtance of their great attention to increaſe their naval force; as being fully convinced that the ſafety and honor of the commonwealth depend upon it! The ordinary aſſemblies of the people are held four times in thirty-five days, particular affairs being allotted to each time; extraordinary ones are ſummoned by the magiſtrates; and a paper is fixed up in

the public places of the city, with a ſhort account of the buſineſs to be debated.

The place where the aſſembly is held, which is either the market-place, or a great ſquare near the citadel, is firſt purified by a ſolemn rite of luſtration. When that is ended, the public crier makes a prayer for the proſperity of their counſels; and pronounces an execration againſt thoſe who endeavour, or adviſe any thing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. Then, by order of the preſident, he ſtates the queſtion; or repeats the decree of the ſenate, which is to be confirmed or rejected. The oldeſt orators begin the debate, and are followed by the younger; though it is to be obſerved, that no perſon under thirty has a right to be heard; nor is any one who has been convicted of a notorious crime permitted to have a ſhare in their councils. Without the firſt of theſe precautions, they think the ſtate might be expoſed to danger by an immature advice; without the latter, by a deſperate or unlawful one. When the debates are over the people give their votes, which is uſually done by holding up their hands: then the opinion is drawn up in writing, and they confirm it by a ſecond diviſion. After the preſident has examined the numbers on both ſides, he pronounces on which the majority lies, and diſmiſſes the aſſembly. It is in theſe aſſemblies of the people that all affairs relating to war and peace, religion or domeſtic policy, are diſcuſſed. Appeals lie to them from all tribunals, even from that of the Areopagus; of which

which venerable judicature I ſhall next give thee a ſhort account. Their inſtitution is by ſome attributed to SOLON, but generally to CECROPS the founder of the city. It is chiefly compoſed of the Archons who have diſcharged their offices with honor; and its number therefore is not always the ſame. They hold their ſittings on Mars's-hill, in the open air; and when they determine cauſes it is in the night. The members of this body have been always held in the higheſt eſteem for the ſanctity of their lives, the impartiality of their deciſions, and their knowledge in the laws of their country. Their authority is of a large extent; they inſpect over the obſervation of the laws, the manners of the citizens, and the education of the youth. They have alſo cognizance of caſes of murder and all ſorts of impieties; and the introduction of new ceremonies fall within their juriſdiction. PERICLES, indeed, with a view of making his court to the people, by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles, has reduced the power of the Areopagus: but ſober men look upon it as one of the worſt ſteps in his adminiſtration; and it affords his enemies a fair topic for invidious remarks. I hope the view I have here given thee, noble ſcribe, of the nature of the Athenian conſtitution, and of their manner of carrying on public buſineſs, will not be diſagreeable to thee, or afford unprofitable reflections to the council of Perſia; thy favorable acceptance of this eſſay will encourage me to tranſmit more papers of the ſame kind. I leave it to thy experienced

ſagacity to compare the republican government of Athens with the monarchical one of thy native country; to diſcover the excellencies of each; to trace out their reſpective imperfections; and to determine, whether a conſtitution, blended of both, might not compoſe the moſt perfect form that human invention can ever expect to attain. But I know how difficult it would prove to hit that juſt mediuin; and how hard it is to prevent the ſpirit of faction from mixing with that of reformation. Pardon my preſumption, and ſuffer me to wiſh a long continuance to thy miniſtry; it is the ſame thing as wiſhing an increaſe of honor and proſperity to Perſia. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XIV.

GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER.

THOU continueſt, CLEANDER, to give frequent proofs of thy zeal and abilities in the diſpatches which thou writeſt to the miniſters of the Perſian court. Our royal maſter is happy in poſſeſſing ſo good a ſervant, particularly at a time when the wiſdom of our counſels muſt aſſiſt us to regain what we have loſt by the misfortunes of our arms. Thy laſt letters to MEGABYZUS and myſelf were particularly acceptable. They ſhow that, not contented with being a bare annaliſt of the public tranſactions,

thou entereſt into the very genius and diſpoſitions of the people amongſt whom thou reſideſt; and that as thou converſeſt with perſons the moſt intelligent in the government and manners of Athens, ſo thou art no leſs careful to enrich thy country with the fruits of thy knowledge. I will only ſuggeſt this caution to thee, not to ſuffer the partial repreſentations which the Greeks make of their own policy and religion, to inſpire thee with a diſlike to thoſe of Perſia; nor let the many inſtances, which thou muſt obſerve, of a licentious liberty towards magiſtrates and rulers, pervert thy affections from the ſovereign of the Eaſt; neither imagine that cuſtoms which ſuit the level conditions of the members of a republic, would equally become the gravity and ſtrict diſcipline of a monarchy. Whatever informations thou canſt acquire relating to the trade, revenues, or marine of Athens, her religious ceremonies or civil inſtitutions, will not fail to recommend thy diligence to a prince, whoſe goodneſs never forgets the meaneſt labors of his ſervants, and whoſe generoſity takes every opportunity of rewarding them. As an earneſt of what thou mayſt expect, he ſends thee, by this courier, a ring ſparkling with a precious ſtone taken out of the royal treaſury, two Median horſes with rich capariſons, and a purſe of five hundred golden darics. Receive this regal munificence with gratitude, and prove by thy ſervices, that thou art not unworthy ſo great a mark of confidence and favor. It remains for me to inform thee, that ſeveral councils were lately held on Grecian

affairs; in which it was debated, whether the great king ſhould immediately offer his mediation by a ſolemn embaſſy to the Athenians and the Peloponneſian allies; or whether he ſhould ſuffer the war to continue, till both ſides were further weakened, and the loſing party reduced to make application to us. The latter meaſure has, I think, with good reaſon, been choſen. It was conſidered, that it ſeems more for the honor of Perſia not to enter into theſe affairs uninvited, and perhaps expoſe her mediation to contempt. Beſides, there is ſome danger, that if we diſcover our intentions too early, the natural jealouſies of the Greeks with regard to us, may be awakened; a ſenſe of their mutual intereſts may prevail over the ſpirit of diſſenſion and tumult, which now reigns among them; and ſo the game be played out of our hands, through our own want of dexterity in managing it. Whereas, by delaying to open the part which Perſia deſigns to take in theſe differences, the alarm which Sparta has conceived at the riſing greatneſs of Athens is ſo great, that the war is likely to continue and grow hotter every year. The conquering party will increaſe in their pretenſions; the vanquiſhed, exaſperated by their loſſes, unwilling to yield to thoſe who were formerly their equals, and unable to defend themſelves, can have no where recourſe for aſſiſtance but to us; and thus the balance muſt naturally be placed in our hands, and the Grecian ſtates, diverted from making conqueſts over us, will voluntarily ſue for protection againſt their powerful

neighbours, to a country which they formerly deſpiſed and hated. But I forbear inſiſting upon the advantages ariſing to Perſia from this conduct, it is every way ſo agreeable to her true intereſts, that it would be doubting thy judgement to enforce it by farther arguments.

Advice from Lacedæmon aſſures us, that the leading men among the allies are determined before the end of the year to ſend a formal embaſſy to the great king, requeſting that he would enter into the league, and furniſh them with ſupplies of men and money. Fail not to advertiſe, whether the Athenians have notice of this; and whether they have any intention to follow an example ſo glorious for Perſia.

Before I conclude this diſpatch, I am to acquaint thee, by the king's expreſs order, that he is ſenſible, in caſe the plague breaks out at Athens, (as it is reported,) of the dangers to which thou muſt be expoſed in a city not able to contain its numerous inhabitants, whoſe preſent inconveniencies ſo terrible a diſtreſs will neceſſarily increaſe; and therefore he thinks it proper for thee to remove to a place which may be free from that calamity, and at the ſame time not far from Athens. Thus neither will thy own ſafety be expoſed, nor at the ſame time the king's ſervice receive any detriment.

When thou readeſt this inſtance of royal tenderneſs for an uſeful miniſter, and receiveſt the marks of princely bounty which accompany it, thou haſt reaſon to thank the mighty OROMASDES, that thou art born a ſubject of

Perſia, and liveſt under the reign of ARTAXERXES.

From Suſa. P.

LETTER XV.

HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

HEARING of the meſſenger that was to ſet out to you from GOBRYAS, I would not omit the opportunity it offers me of expreſſing the concern I am under for your ſafety; the lateſt reports from Greece having informed us, that they begin to be under diſmal apprehenſions of the plague at Athens. It is ſaid, that the cattle [6], as they graze in the meads adjacent to that city, are ſeized with the noxious vapors aſcending from the earth, and fall inſtantaneouſly dead; the ſure and common preſage that the ſame calamity will ſoon extend itſelf to the human ſpecies. I could wiſh, therefore, you were removed farther from the contagion. May at leaſt thoſe propitious beings, who, under the great OROMASDES, are the guardians of our ſtate, preſerve the faithful miniſter of the great king, even amidſt the regions of death. I wiſh you were ſafe at Suſa, could the intereſts of ARTAXERXES be ſerved ſo well by any other perſon leſs valuable to all his friends. Whilſt we enjoy the clemencies of a mild and wholeſome air, thou

[6] Ουρῆας μὲν πρώτον ἐποίχεται. Iliad. ά.

in a rough and unpleaſant country, expoſed to the rigors of a northern ſky, art not only placed amidſt tumults, depopulations, and the alarms of war, but art expoſed to evils which no human forecaſt can ward againſt; all which thou beareſt moſt willingly for the ſervice of Perſia. Excellent CLEANDER! what reward will not thy merit call for? May ſome happy day reſtore thee to thy friends and country, where MEGABYZUS, who knows thy worth, will raiſe thee to diſtinguiſhed honors, and place thee in ſome tranquil ſtation under the ſmiles of our mighty ſovereign. That great miniſter knows ſo well to allay the boiſterous ſwellings and animoſities of contending intereſts, that peace and unanimity ſeem now entirely to prevail over faction and diſcord; and may they long continue undiſturbed by the ſeditious efforts of envy and ambition, in the Perſian court! A ſenſe too of duty to the ſupreme being ſeems more fervent upon our minds than uſual; though were we ever ſo forgetful of it at other times, our late deliverances would ſtrongly have demanded it from us at this. And here it may not be unentertaining to mention to thee, with what religious care a ſolemn feſtival was celebrated thereupon at Suſa. Forty days were ſet apart for feaſts and ſacrifices; during that time the court put on an extraordinary air of ſplendor and cheerfulneſs; but there were none of thoſe looſer revels, which commonly attend an exceſs of rejoicing. The moſt eminent of the Magi, from all the colleges in Perſia, were ſummoned to be preſent at

the ſacrifices. The firſt morning the chief of the Magi, with a long train of his aſſociates, and the ſeveral miniſters of the religious ceremonies following him [7], aſcended the higheſt of the mountains that environ Suſa to the north; clad in the ſacred veſtments, his [8] tiara interwoven with myrtle. He bowed twice towards the riſing ſun; then led the victim to the appointed ground, and there invoked the god. ARTAXERXES and the queen, XERXES, SOGDIANUS, OCHUS, and ARSITES, with all the other princes of the blood, were preſent at theſe holy rites. Each of the Magi ſung oraiſons in their turn to the great author of the world. But ARIMASPES, as chief in dignity, had juſtly the preference given him of hymning the praiſe of OROMASDES the beſt. "How, at his great "command, the wide expanſe was filled with "beings; how, at his word, the bright and "radiant ſun firſt ſpread his gilded rays to "cheer and gladden nature; how the elements "were diſpoſed by him, and the ſeeds of all "things ranged in order; how, by his power, "they are preſerved, and made the principles "of life and vegetation to all creatures, which, "if he with-held his ſalutary influences, would "ſwarm at once with death and contagion; "how, by him alone, the ſubtle fleeces of "the air are kept untainted, and the earth "free from impurities and infection: hence "that the whole expanſe is GOD, ſince he per-"vades the whole, and by his power is preſent

[7] Herod. Clio. c. 131. [8] Ibid. c. 132.

"every where." The ſong being ended, you might have ſeen the awful lord of Aſia proſtrate on the earth, acknowledging a much higher power; a power upon whom he and all the princes of the earth depend. The inferior Magi ſacrificed in their order, according to their different inſtitutions; and joined at laſt in one general ſymphony of praiſe, while a hundred victims loſt their breath, to the eternal ſource of good. It was glorious to obſerve the long proceſſion as it aſcended up the ſteep; but more ſo, to behold the vaſt retinue and ſplendid equipages ſpreading over the ſummits of the higheſt hills; the ſparkling enſigns of regality; the ſtately canopy blazing with the gems of Indus; the rich capariſons of the camels and horſes; and then to ſee the mightieſt ſatraps, together with their potent lord, deſcend from their ſeats of ſtate, bowing themſelves all at once before the greater ſovereign of the univerſe. When this ſolemn ceremony was ended, the whole company returned in the ſame regular order in which they went. The proceſſion entered the ſpacious encloſure of the royal palace at the gate of Memnon, where a ſumptuous entertainment was prepared. The king himſelf ſat at one table with the princes of the blood, waited upon by the great officers of the houſehold: at another, the moſt conſiderable ſatraps, and the generals of the army: at a third, the venerable body of the Magi; and at others, through the ſeveral ſtately apartments of the palace, the inhabitants of Suſa. During the entertainment the halls reſounded

with the melodious airs of women, and the enchanting ſtrains of the moſt ſkilful muſicians. Nothing could be added to the ſplendor, order, and variety that appeared on this occaſion. Thy friends wanted thee alone to complete their ſatisfaction. This only conſolation remains to them, that by undergoing a few temporary inconveniencies, thou art in the higheſt degree uſeful to thy king and thy country. Adieu. L.

From Suſa.

End of the firſt Year of the War.

A. M. 3574. *Third Year of the* 87*th Olympiad.*
The ſecond Year of the Peloponneſian War.

LETTER XVI.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to* ARTAXERXES *King of* Perſia.

I RECEIVED the diſpatch which thou ſenteſt me by the courier HYDARNES; and acknowledge myſelf highly honored, that I am thought worthy to partake in the ſecret counſels of our great monarch, as well as ſenſibly affected by the ſignal generoſity and tenderneſs which he ſhows for his faithful ſlave. I proſtrate myſelf before the footſtool of his ſhining throne, and wiſh him length of days; a bleſſing which is ſure to give perpetuity to the happineſs of Perſia, and the only one that remains to be added to the wiſdom of his government, the greatneſs of his ſoul, and the princely benevolence of his temper.

I obeyed the command laid upon me to retire during the height of the plague, and have found an hoſpitable retreat in the iſland of Salamis; but I fear, though my own ſafety is leſs endangered, I ſhall be neceſſarily ſlower in executing the king's orders, and tranſmitting accounts of Grecian affairs. If any delay ſhould happen, I hope it will not be imputed to my negligence, but to the inconveniencies

of the times, and the difficulty of procuring intelligence here, through the caution of the magiſtrates.

Juſt before the plague broke out, the Peloponneſian army, under the command of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, made a ſecond invaſion into Attica; they are now marched towards the mountain Larius, where the Athenians have ſilver mines. I believe the plan of the war will not be different from that of the laſt year; and this dreadful calamity takes away the flower of their citizens and ſoldiers, and ſo diſpirits the reſt, that PERICLES does not think it prudent to hazard the iſſue of a battle. In order, however, to make a diverſion, a ſquadron of a hundred gallies is preparing to put to ſea, which he intends to command himſelf. His enemies incenſe the people againſt him, (who were never more haraſſed and uneaſy,) by ſaying, that the vaſt numbers he drew out of the country laſt year increaſe the contagion of the diſtemper. I gave the reaſons of that meaſure in a former letter; and cannot help ſaying, that it is highly unjuſt and unfair to charge him with all thoſe croſs accidents of fortune which the moſt refined human prudence and forecaſt cannot prevent. It ſeems as unreaſonable as to aſſert, that the plague is owing to his contrivance. By going admiral in perſon, he either intends to preſerve his credit and keep up the ſpirits of his countrymen by ſome remarkable exploit, or elſe to withdraw himſelf from the clamors of

his enemies, till the fury of the diſeaſe is a little abated.

The reſemblance of the ſymptoms ſhows, that the plague is of the ſame ſtrange nature as that which began in Ethiopia and Egypt, and afterwards ravaged the Perſian provinces.

Every other ſickneſs turns immediately to this, which generally kills in ſeven or eight days, after great pains and eruptions in all parts of the body, inſatiate thirſt, want of ſleep, and variety of circumſtances, which increaſe the natural terrors and uneaſineſs of death. It is very remarkable, that none who recover are ever ſeized with it a ſecond time; yet even in ſome of theſe it ſtrikes upon their ſenſes, effaces the memory of all paſſages of their lives, and makes them forget their neareſt relations. What is moſt ſurpriſing, is that no certain remedies can be applied: a medicine that does good to one, is hurtful to another; and the care and cloſeſt attendance of the phyſician are as uſeleſs, as the utmoſt efforts of his art.

The air itſelf partakes of the malignity; the birds drop down, as they fly along the ſtreets; and the dead bodies, for want of interment, ſhare the ſame ſepulchre with the brutes, and are caſt out in the public ſtreets, ſo many loathſome and moving ſpectacles of mortality. The greateſt part of the inhabitants of the country, who for want of other accommodations were forced to dwell in booths and huts ſet up in the public places, are liable to the greateſt inconveniencies. The living and the

dead amongſt them lie confuſed in heaps, ſome in the agonies of death, others liſting up their hands to heaven, and imploring the divine aſſiſtance, and many gaſping round the fountains, where they crowd to quench their thirſt. Nay, what is almoſt incredible, a neglect of religion and the laws is introduced by the prevalence of this calamity; of the former, becauſe they ſee the plague deſtroys alike the pious and the wicked; of the latter, becauſe no one expects his life will laſt till legal juſtice overtakes him. Indeed nothing contributes more to the diſorderly condition they are in, than the want of proper regulations for removing and attending the ſick, and burning the dead: and were they of an humor to ſubmit to any thing like reſtraint, it might preſerve them from the confuſion and miſery they now undergo. Such is the diſmal ſtate of affairs at Athens; to which no ſmall relief is brought by the arrival of HIPPOCRATES the famous Coan phyſician; who is determined, though at the hazard of his life, to devote himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the diſeaſed. This generoſity has ſo ſenſibly affected the people of Athens, that they reſolve to beſtow on him ſome illuſtrious mark of their eſteem and favor. I need not mention, that they honor him the more, for having refuſed the munificent offers of the great king, that he might be quite at liberty when Greece demanded his aſſiſtance.

I can aſſure thee, that the Athenians have no information yet of the Peloponneſian embaſſy: but PERICLES has agents in all parts, who will

not fail to give him early notice of it. There is a remarkable ſtory of him, that, upon giving in his accounts once to the people, in an article of fifteen talents no particular ſervice was ſpecified. His enemies taking the advantage, immediately inſiſted he ſhould explain it; to which he replied very readily, that this ſum was employed on a ſervice of great importance, which it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep ſecret. The people were ſatisfied, and made no farther inquiry. It is generally ſuppoſed, that theſe fifteen talents were laid out at Sparta, to keep off a war, till the Athenians were better prepared for it. The Lacedæmonians have a fine opportunity, if they make the beſt uſe of this campaign; but I am told they are diſcontented with ARCHIDAMUS their general, who declared himſelf openly againſt the war, and is unwilling to engage his ſtate too far in it. Beſides, nothing conſiderable can be done againſt the Athenians by land, and they always have a good fleet at ſea, to guard their coaſts, interrupt the commerce of their enemies, and prevent the defection of their allies. I ſend thee incloſed a liſt of the allies on both ſides, and the contributions they furniſh towards the war. The Athenians are abſolute maſters over theirs, whereas the ſeparate intereſts amongſt the Peloponneſians embarraſs their military operations for want of unanimity. Excuſe, potent miniſter, the diſmal ſcene of death and deſolation, which I ſet before thee in the former part of this diſpatch; but I might juſtly have been eſteemed inſenſible, if the little I

ſaw myſelf, and the large accounts I received from others, had made only a tranſient impreſſion. Compaſſion is a common tribute to the miſeries and infirmities which human nature is expoſed to; and a generous mind like thine pays it willingly to the worſt of its foes. Much more then let the humbleſt ſervant of ARTAXERXES, the faithful CLEANDER, claim ſome ſhare of pity in his hazardous ſituation. But he repines not at his fate; he ſhould think it honorable to periſh in the ſervice of his maſter. He is thankful to OROMASDES for the life he ſtill enjoys, and refers the uncertain events of futurity to his over-ruling will. Adieu.

From Salamis. P.

Allies of The Athenians.

The Chians, Leſbians, Platæans, Corcyræans, moſt of the Acarnanians, Meſſenians, &c.

Allies of the Lacedæmonians.

All Peloponneſus, except Argos and Achaia; the Megareans, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians.

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

WERE the ſweeteſt retirement a ſufficient aſylum from care, the Magi would be exempted from thoſe reflections, which prey upon the minds of unhappy mortals. We inhabit thoſe groves, which have been the manſions of the wiſe and virtuous by the appointment of ZOROASTRES, who bleſſed them with his abode; and whoſe memory ſtill warms our breaſts with a noble enthuſiaſm. We point out in our pleaſed imagination the paths he trod, and the places he took moſt delight in: here, ſay we, within the ſpacious arch of this cave he penn'd his divine precepts; on the ſlope of yonder hill, or under the ſhade of that ancient cedar, he repoſed himſelf, and while his eyelids ſhut out the piercing light, his ſoul was open to the milder influence of OROMASDES. He held an intercourſe with the heavenly bodies from the ſummit of this pyramid, or of that mount, whoſe ſides are covered with odorous ſhrubs, that ſcarcely afford a perplexed path to its top. The very air of this country is perfumed and of a purer draught; the ſky more ſerene and of a brighter azure; the proſpects beautiful and various, ſince nature is not only favorable to us, but has received all the improvement ſhe was capable of, without being diſguiſed by art. Immenſe wealth has been beſtowed on her cultivation, yet the

richneſs of her dreſs ſeems to ariſe from the genius of the place. You are ſurpriſed at the elegance that appears, yet can ſee nothing but what bears a reſemblance to ſomething you have obſerved in rude nature; like a miſtreſs of a well-ordered family, though ſhe receives you with the utmoſt delicacy and magnificence, it is with that eaſe, that ſhe ſeems not to be at any trouble, or to have been put out of her ordinary courſe for your entertainment.

Yet I muſt confeſs, amidſt theſe delightful ſcenes, ſacred to peace and the contemplation of everlaſting OROMASDES, I am not without ſome anxiety for your ſafety, O CLEANDER! when I conſider your hazardous ſituation for the ſervice of Perſia, and your zeal for that monarch, who outſhines all his predeceſſors in juſtice, who will not fail to reward the ſucceſs, which your zeal and penetration promiſe to our affairs. Your ſteady affection has gained you much confidence with the great, and your perfect knowledge of the language, intereſts, and politics of our enemies, no leſs than thoſe of Perſia, give great aſſurance to your friends, that you ſhall one day be recalled from your obſcurity to be raiſed high in the court of Suſa. Your merit to your country will meet with other recompence than the jealouſy of Greece generally affords her benefactors. The ſovereign of the Eaſt is too generous to ſuſpect rivalſhip in his faithful ſervants, and will look upon the influence you ſhall gain in the ſtates of Greece, as the greateſt teſtimony of your fidelity.

I ſometimes reflect on the worſt that can befal you, from the prying diſcernment of the people you converſe with, or thoſe who are jealous of your credit at the court; but the ſagacity of your prince will guard you from your domeſtic foes; and ſhould the popular violence of Athens make itſelf accountable for your death, Aſia would pour forth its numerous troops to revenge ſo baſe an indignity to the ſervant of ARTAXERXES. Perhaps you will think this lofty ſtrain proceeds more from the zeal of a Perſian, than my true ſentiments, ſince we have experienced that a numerous army, nay I might ſay numerous nations in arms, have been found unequal to the ſlender but well-conducted power of thoſe ſmaller ſtates; our ſoldiers have been diſtreſſed and ſcattered, though equal in number to all the inhabitants of Greece. But may I not hope, CLEANDER, that that inſinuating evil, luxury, the parent of all our ſhame and misfortunes, has at laſt found a place amongſt our enemies? Has not ſecurity, the reſult of ſucceſs, relaxed their ſevere morals, and introduced emaſculating pleaſures, to which alone they are obliged for the advantages they gained over us? Are not theſe the Grecian refinements we hear ſo much of? Does not that boaſted ſuperiority in arts and politeneſs (from whence they brand all the world with the name of Barbarians) break out into extravagancy of dreſs, diet, and deportment? And has not by this time the unreſtrained populace, intoxicated with victory, miſtaken licentiouſneſs for liberty? Or is it

poſſible, that a people ſo free and ſo ſucceſsful ſhould continue upon their guard againſt theſe worſt of foes? No certainly, CLEANDER, the Perſian luxury muſt be part of their acquiſitions, which, like the fatal peſtilence that occaſioned ſuch deſolation in this empire, paſſed through Aſia into Greece, and now preys upon our foes, muſt take its laſt reſidence with them; a diſeaſe more deſtructive than the peſtilence, and which will baffle the ſkill of that haughty Coan phyſician, who, had he more lives than ever his art preſerved, would deſerve to forfeit them all in tortures for his inſolence to the world's greateſt monarch. I need not tell you, (what I doubt not is the boaſt of every Greek,) that when he was conjured to paſs over into Aſia, by a promiſe of that friendſhip which princes ſue for, and to ſhare in that wealth which is the tribute of three hundred provinces, he anſwered diſdainfully, he would not deſert his country to ſerve a Barbarian. Shame to the kingdom of Cyrus, that his ſucceſſors, before whom the mighty ſatraps proſtrate themſelves to the earth, and whoſe name is awful to half mankind, ſhould become the ſcorn of an ignoble Coan! But the Almighty has puniſhed him, by transferring that evil on his own country, which he refuſed to ſuppreſs in Perſia; which may teach us, that the worſhippers of OROMASDES are not forſaken, ſince, though he has denied ſucceſs to our arms, he has himſelf chaſtiſed the inſolence of our foes.

From Balch in Bactria. H.

LETTER XVIII.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES.

I HAVE been informed of thy riſing character not only from the chamberlain HYDASPES, but the common voice of fame; and am the more confirmed in the juſt expectations I had conceived of thee, from the late honor of thy letter. The wiſeſt legiſlators of Greece have generally made it one of their excellent laws, that the young men ſhould pay reſpect to the ſage inſtructions of their elders. But ſurely, if this maxim may at any time be ſet aſide, it ought never to be more reverſed than in our correſpondence. For when I conſider the luſtre of thy parts, and the reach of thy knowledge, at a time of life which brings few even to the exerciſe of reaſon; I amuſe myſelf with the agreeable thoughts of profiting by thy information; far, very far from imagining, that any thing which falls from CLEANDER can be of ſervice to ORSAMES. However, as I ſhall always be proud to ſhow every mark of regard to a nobleman of your quality and hopes, I can aſſure thee, generous lord, that I think myſelf highly honored by the particular and diſtinguiſhing proof, thou haſt granted me, of thy favor.

It is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction I obſerve, how much thou canſt diſdain the oſtentation and luxury of the Perſian nobility; and rather employeſt thyſelf in the uſeful purſuits of knowledge, than wandereſt in the deſtructive

path of intoxicating pleasure. To say the truth, when I reflect on this particular, I admire thee for anticipating the experience without the infirmity of years, and moderating the fever of youth without losing the true spirit of it. Thou hast made it thy business, from the very earliest days of thy infancy, to acquaint thyself with the religion, laws, and constitution of thy country; and art now travelling through other regions, to survey the temper, customs, and policy of those who differ from us. Thy epistle from Babylon is sufficient to convince me, thou art well qualified, from thy curiosity and eagerness, to procure the exactest intelligence; from thy judgment and discretion, to select the most interesting circumstances; from thy ingenuity and good sense, to relate them in the most accurate manner; from thy prudence and sagacity, to draw the best and most rational inferences from them all. I am extremely impatient to learn a few particulars of that extraordinary people the Egyptians; who inhabit a country, as remarkable for the polity of its laws, the wisdom of its religion, and the knowledge of its priests, as for the trade of its cities, the grandeur of its buildings, and the fertility of its soil. When thou enterest into that storehouse of wealth and commerce, (for so it may be termed with justice,) that repository of all sacred and profane science, thou wilt be wrapt in pleasure and astonishment, at the variety, not to say profusion, of blessings, which art and nature have poured out, for the subsistence,

convenience, and ornament of that happy nation. A man of thy underſtanding will find a ſecret delight in tracing out the ſteps of the great heroes of antiquity; he will be ſtudious of ſearching into the annals of their ſtory, and will meet with no ſmall entertainment in hearing of the victories and military virtue of SESOSTRIS, or the peaceful arts and government of OSIRIS. He will liſten with attention to the philoſophical precepts and dark oracles of the prieſts; he will inveſtigate the long records of lunar years, and unveil the myſterious ſyſtem of aſtronomy, and frame of nature, with much labor and toil. He will viſit their public edifices, and the palaces of their kings, with admiration; and behold the temples of their gods with reverential regard. Thoſe ſtupendous works of antiquity, which ſtill exiſt there, can by no means eſcape the prying curioſity of his ſoul, or the careful diligence of his inquiries. He will view the pyramids and mauſoleums, which have been preſerved entire through a long courſe of centuries, the wonder of the world, with ſpeculations of a moral kind. He will look upon them, as erected by the moſt powerful princes of the earth for a memorial of their pride to future ages, and as intended rather for an amazing ſpectacle to the living, than as places of repoſe to the dead. He will conſider, that the founders of thoſe monuments cloſed up the laſt ſcene of their falſe greatneſs in life, by raiſing theſe altars to their vanity: and gave in death an example to mankind of the extreme littleneſs of mortal arrogance, by mingling

their own duſt with ſo poor a ſhare of that earth, which once was not ſufficient to contain them.

The next period of thy journey leads thee into Greece, a country very different from that of Egypt, both in the qualities of its climate, and the manners of its people. Inſtead of the ſplendor and magnificence, which appears in the cities of the latter, thou wilt find a general turn to parſimony and frugality among the inhabitants of the former. Inſtead of the peace and unanimity, which exiſts under a monarchical government, the popular frame of the Grecian republics is continually ſhaken by domeſtic faction. Athens, through the extent and abundance of her trade, the induſtry and œconomy of her people, the wiſdom and courage of the great men ſhe has produced, hath for many years born the principal ſway in their counſels. But the ſtates of Peloponneſus, ſomewhat envious of her authority, have at length determined to deſtroy it. A violent peſtilence, and a ſtrong oppoſition to the meaſures of PERICLES, their chief adviſer in this war, are at the ſame time broke out among the citizens. PERICLES, with no other reſtraint on the caprice of his countrymen, than what his own diſcretion can command, withſtands the clamors of party, and the ſtouteſt efforts of ſedition. However, he cannot hold it long; for I eaſily conjecture, from the preſent poſture of affairs, that his enemies will never leave him, till they have wreſted the reins of power from his hands. But more

of this, when I ſhall enjoy the honor of thy company and converſation in the town of Athens, which is the place of my reſidence and buſineſs.

In the mean time give me leave to ſay, that I wiſh the improvement thou receiveſt from thy travels, may be equal to thy laudable thirſt after knowledge: at leaſt I know the reſult of them will, one day, be applied to the glory and ſecurity of our ſovereign and the Perſian empire. Thus, inſtead of meanly depending on the noble actions of thy anceſtors, as the only merit thou canſt boaſt, thy reputation will be as much ſuperior to theirs, as thy virtues are ſuperior. By this means thou wilt reflect a luſtre on the fame of thy fathers; thou wilt become an honor to thyſelf and family; an ornament and ſervice to thy friends and thy country. Adieu.

C.

I had almoſt forgotten to tell thee, that by the goodneſs of the king I am permitted to retire to Salamis, during the infection of the plague.

LETTER XIX.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

THY accounts of the marriage at ECBATANA, and the thankſgiving ſacrifice on the hills of Suſa, were ſo kindly and agreeably written, that I ſhould appear inexcuſably negligent in

the cultivation of that friendſhip, which I eſteem an honor to my character, if I ſuffered a want of equal materials to plead my excuſe for not anſwering them. It is needleſs to trouble thee with a long relation of the diſtreſs of the Athenians, ſince, beſides the exact information thou haſt already met with, I am afraid it would prove a very melancholy return to the pleaſing cheerfulneſs of thy letters. But if pleaſures of a private nature, in which thy friend is concerned, can add any thing to the ſatisfaction thou receiveſt from thoſe of a public one, I will give thee a deſcription of my retirement into Salamis, during the contagion of the plague; and the manner in which I employ my leiſure hours. My old patron PHILEMON, through a laudable zeal in the ſervice of his country, reſolves to abide in the city, though at the peril of his own life. In the mean while, he has intruſted me with the charge of his family, and has ſent us to his country-ſeat in this place, which is ſituated but a few furlongs from the coaſt of Attica.

Salamis is a ſmall iſland of about two hundred and twenty ſtadia in circumference, remarkable for a complete victory gained over the fleet of XERXES by the conduct of THEMISTOCLES. It contains within that little compaſs a moſt ſurpriſing variety of hills and vales, rocks and plains, rivers and meadows fruitful fields and ſpacious lawns. Theſe are diverſified with many beautiful villas, belonging to the principal cizizens and magiſtrates of the town of Athens. Several plantations of fruit and foreſt

trees, all ſtrangers to the ſoil and climate of Perſia, are here cultivated by the ſkill of the careful inhabitant; and contribute in a great meaſure to the romantic air and confuſion of the landſcape. On the ſummit of a lofty mountain, in the very middle of the iſland, you are preſented with the nobleſt and moſt extenſive proſpect in the world. One view to the north (to ſay nothing of the pleaſant country lying at your feet) commands Megara and Athens, with the ſhips in the Piræan harbour, through a conſiderable tract of land in the territories of Bœotia. Towards the ſouth, the cities of Argos, Mycenæ, and Epidaurus, riſe full before your eyes. To the eaſt, you are ſoon ſtruck with thoſe numerous iſles, called the Cyclades, which appear like ſo many pointed rocks diſperſed over the Ægean ſea; and to the weſt, you ſurvey the Iſthmus, with the ſtately buildings of Corinth. The houſe and gardens of my friend are plain and homely, unadorned with the pride of eaſtern magnificence, and improved by the Attic elegance of their owner. I frequently compare them with thoſe of Alcinous in the Grecian Homer; and find the ſame ſimplicity in both, free from the falſe ornament and pomp of luxury. My time has of late been a good deal taken up (when the buſineſs of the king would permit me) in the peruſal of the Grecian poets and hiſtorians. As thy curioſity will perhaps make thee deſirous of being acquainted with their names and writings, I will fill this diſpatch with

the cleareſt account I have been able to obtain of them.

For this purpoſe I ſhall begin with thoſe, who have done moſt honor to the art of poetry; ſince it was originally the chief vehicle, by which the knowledge of government, religion, or philoſophy, was conveyed to the dark underſtandings of mankind. The firſt founders of the fabulous theology are uncertain. LINUS, ORPHEUS, and MUSÆUS are remembered with ſome general marks of eſteem, even in theſe ages of Greece. But their hiſtory is too uncertain and fictitious to bear a ſerious relation. We muſt deſcend therefore immediately to HOMER, who was at once the firſt and greateſt poet of antiquity. The ſubject of his admired performance is the ſiege of Troy, and the adventures of the Grecian heroes, particularly of ULYSSES, on their returning, after a long abſence, to their native kingdoms. He is ſaid to have flouriſhed between two and three hundred years after the deſtruction of that potent empire; and the Greeks retain ſuch an high veneration for his memory, that many towns ſtill contend for the honor of his birth. Smyrna carries the faireſt title of them all; in confidence whereof ſhe has erected a temple to his name, and the people worſhip him with the ſacred rites of adoration. Conſider him in his perſon and fortune, he is repreſented as a ſtrolling indigent bard. Conſider him in the qualities of his mind, poſſeſſed of every natural and acquired endowment human nature is capable of, it is impoſſible to refuſe him that

reverence and regard, which is so justly due to the "father of the Grecian poets." At the same time I cannot be of their opinion, who ascribe the rise of all military and civil policy, religion and learning, to the genius of HOMER. It is enough to transmit his praise to the latest posterity, that the warmth and spirit of his expression is equal to the strength and loftiness of his thought, and the boldness of his imagination to the fertility of it. To this give me leave to add, that the beauty and contrivance of his fables, the music and variety of his numbers, and the regular composition of the whole, have raised the dignity of epic poetry in its infancy, if not at its very birth, to an inimitable period of perfection; insomuch that futurity shall wonder, without being able to arrive at it. HESIOD was a native of Cuma in Ætolia, and removed soon after his birth to Ascra in Bœotia. His writings are esteemed next in antiquity and value to those of HOMER. Some have wantonly made them contemporaries, and pretend to say, that HESIOD got the better of HOMER in a poetical dispute. But this is highly improbable, since it may be confessed, without detracting from his real merit, that HESIOD is by no means his equal. Besides, the nature of their talents is as different, as the style of their poems. The one excels more in sublimity than in accuracy; is less indebted to art than to nature; more engaged in the tumults of war, than the quiet of retirement. The other is rather studious of plainness than sublimity; less fond of ornament, than propriety; more addicted to the

images of a rural life, than the buſy ſcenes of a public one. The ſimplicity of his parts, and the agreeable ſoftneſs of his diſpoſition, are evident from his choice of a ſtyle between loftineſs and meanneſs, which is well ſuited to the undiſturbed tranquillity of his ſtation and temper. His ſucceſs in this kind of poetry is ſufficient to juſtify his claim to the ſecond rank, without ever placing him in competition with HOMER for the firſt. They tell an odd ſtory of him, which ſhows him to have been a man of either humor or caprice. For accidentally as he one day overheard a potter at his daily labor ſinging ſome of his verſes with an ill accent and cadence, he threw himſelf down on the poor man's brittle property; at which the fellow immediately cried out, "why do you ſpoil my work?" "Becauſe," anſwered HESIOD, "you ſpoil mine."

ALCÆUS excelled in a different way both from HOMER and HESIOD; but was more deſirous of acquiring reputation in the capacity of a ſoldier and a patriot, than in that of a poet. His pretenſions however to the two former, are not ſo well grounded as his pretenſions to the latter. For as to his military glory, it appears, that in a battle between the Athenians and Mytileneans he fled ſuddenly from the engagement, and diſhonorably left his ſhield in the poſſeſſion of an enemy. And as to his zeal in the ſervice of his country, notwithſtanding his violent oppoſition to the meaſures of PITTACUS, the prudent tyrant of Mytilene, he was ambitious of aſpiring to that

arbitrary command, which he blamed in the hands of another. All his writings are in the lyric ſtrain, and compoſed in a very fine meaſure peculiar to himſelf. He has happily united cloſeneſs with magnificence, ſpirit with correctneſs, and the utmoſt ſtrength of judgment with the warmth of fancy; and though his muſe is generally employed in matters of love and gallantry, yet he always ſhows himſelf fit for ſubjects of a nobler nature. Since I have mentioned ALCÆUS, I ſhould not omit his famous contemporary SAPPHO, who flouriſhed in Mytilene about the forty-fourth olympiad, and was a woman of no great beauty, but of infinite delicacy and wit; enough, one ſhould have thought, to atone for her other defects. She diſdained the moſt paſſionate addreſſes of ALCÆUS; and upon his whiſpering to her one day, "that he had ſomething to tell her, but "was aſhamed of it," ſhe anſwered with a juſt indignation, "that if he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of it, he would not conceal it." Her cruelty to him is the more remarkable, becauſe ſhe was much enamoured of one PHAON, whoſe unkindneſs in leaving her, as it was the occaſion of her fineſt performances, ſo it was the cauſe of her death. She had a wonderful vein of inſinuation and ſoftneſs, which, even now, gives her writings ſuch a powerful ſway over the tendereſt affections of human nature. There is ſomething ſo graceful and unaffected in her expreſſion and ſentiments, ſo ſmooth and harmonious in her numbers, that the title of "tenth muſe," beſtowed on

her by the common voice of Greece, is no more than a due teſtimony of reſpect to the merit of her poetry.

ARCHILOCHUS was a native of Paros, and held in eſteem as a poet, about the ſame time with SAPPHO and ALCÆUS. He generally paſſes among the Greeks for the inventor of a peculiar meaſure, called Iambic verſe; but a man of learning aſſured me, that there is a piece of HOMER's, named Margites, ſtill extant, that proves the contrary. His way of writing is ſtrong and nervous, ſhort and pointed, witty and ſatirical, but tinctured with ſo much gall and malice, that he himſelf profeſſes, "he could ſpare neither friend nor foe." They tell a remarkable ſtory of him, that one LYCAMBES having offered him his daughter in marriage, and afterwards refuſed to give her, ARCHILOCHUS laſhed them with ſuch rancor and ſeverity, that he and his daughter both hanged themſelves.

Some years after lived ANACREON of Teos in Ionia, a man of eaſe and pleaſure, dividing his time betwixt the amuſements of wine, love, and poetry. He was ſo profeſſed an enemy to care and buſineſs, that when his patron POLYCRATES of SAMOS made him one day a preſent of five talents, it diſturbed his ſleep; ſo he carried it back again the next, and told him, "that how conſiderable ſoever the ſum "might be, it was not a reward equal to the "trouble of preſerving it." His writings are agreeable to the freedom of his behaviour; ſo that he draws a very lively picture of his own character

character in the ſeveral touches of nature, that are to be found in his odes and ſonnets. We may compare his muſe to his miſtreſs; ſhe ſeems airy, looſe, and negligent, and is dreſſed up with more art, the more ſhe hides the appearance of it. He lived eighty-five years in one continued ſeries of health and retirement. To make his death conformable to his life, he is ſaid to have been choked with a grape-ſtone in his wine.

I ſhall not trouble thee with any memoirs of ALCMAN, BACCHYLIDES, IBYCUS, STESICHORUS, and SIMONIDES; though they excelled each in their different way, and the laſt of them hath particularly recorded, in verſe, the four fights of MARATHON, THERMOPYLÆ, SALAMIS, and PLATÆA. But of all thoſe, who contributed to ſupport the grandeur of the lyric muſe, PINDAR muſt be mentioned with moſt regard. His poems were compoſed in honor of ſeveral conquerors, at the Iſthmian, Pythian, Nemeæan, or Olympic games; and give us a notion of the higheſt tranſport and elevation, to which this art can be advanced. His deſigns are ſo vaſt, his ſtyle ſo daring, his thoughts ſo ſtriking and uncommon, that it requires as much attention to read him, as to imitate others. He has often been cenſured as too unbridled and irregular; yet this is not the leaſt of his beauties, ſince an ode is intended more to raiſe our fancy, than to inform our judgment. It is adapted to the fire and majeſty of PINDAR; his imagination is on the wing; he cannot ſtay for words to expreſs

himſelf methodically; he uſes the boldeſt ſort of painting; he gives us a general likeneſs of his hero, without finiſhing the features. Thus has he triumphed over the labors of art, and extorted this approbation from mankind, that he alone is the "perfect and unrivalled maſter of the Grecian Lyre." The Athenians pride themſelves to this day in an act of uncommon generoſity, which they performed towards this admired poet. His own countrymen, the Thebans, having fined him in a large ſum of money, for the particular regard he pays every where to Athens in the courſe of his odes, and his neglect of Thebes, that was his native city, the people of Athens honorably diſcharged the fine, and proved themſelves not unworthy of the great eſteem which PINDAR had conceived for them.

I ſhould proceed in the next place to the dramatic poetry of Athens, and the writers of hiſtory: however, as to the former, thou wilt forgive me, if I ſay nothing of it at preſent, ſince it really ſeems ſo interwoven with the frame of the Athenian conſtitution, that an account of it would hardly be ſo proper for the peruſal of a friend, as of a miniſter of ſtate: and as to the latter, I muſt delay the little materials I have collected upon that ſubject, to another letter. But I detain thee too long from the preſence of thy prince, whoſe affection thou haſt ſecured by the duty of thy obedience; and whoſe bounty, by the zeal of thy ſervice. Adieu.

From Salamis. C.

LETTER XX.

CLEANDER *to* SMERDIS *the Mage.*

THE miſeries of the eaſtern world, whilſt the plague laſted in thoſe parts, much engaged my attention and my pity; and it ſeemed, as if the angry gods had intended by a variety of evils to extirpate the race of mortals from the earth. But ſure their hotteſt vengeance was reſerved for theſe devoted regions, and is now inflicted in the moſt complicated calamities that ever have befallen human kind. For that haſty and inviſible deſtroyer, which had ravaged the Perſian empire, begins now to ſpread itſelf through theſe parts, at a time when civil diſcord inſeſts the Grecian ſtates, and depopulates their moſt flouriſhing communities, worſe than ever the Barbarian would have done. Who ſhall deſcribe the terrors of the war, the ruins and devaſtations of many large and fruitful diſtricts, which ſuffer not more from hoſtile fury, than from the policy of their own native inhabitants? By them are the moſt cultivated plains converted into ſolitary deſerts; while the bare neceſſaries, to ſupport a lingering life of miſery, are depoſited in the principal cities only. Beſides the numberleſs hardſhips which are undergone at Athens, while the whole people of Attica are pent up within the narrow bounds of that ſingle metropolis, with theſe and many more circumſtances of their diſtreſs, the plague, which daily increaſes,

muſt, among ſuch a ſwarm of unhappy families, make a far more terrible havock here than it has elſewhere done. Theſe miſeries, though I myſelf, by leave of our moſt gracious monarch, enjoy a ſecurer ſtation at Salamis, yet fill my mind with that confuſion and medley of paſſions, as if from a rock I beheld the toſſings of a tempeſtuous ocean, and ſaw the ſhattered barks breaking in pieces amidſt the mercileſs ſhelves and waves. But ſay, venerable SMERDIS, who, in thoſe ſequeſtered ſhades ſacred to everlaſting peace, enjoyeſt the friendly intercourſe of ſuperior beings! whoſe hallowed ſoul, unruffled by the ſtorm of paſſions, and pure from every guilt, is a manſion for the great OROMASDES; whoſe calmeſt influence raiſes there no frantic tranſports, no unnatural emotions: ſay, why is ARIMANIUS permitted to diſturb and invert the order of OROMASDES's works? Whether from his influence, that the mind of man is ſo eaſily perverted, and refuſes to be under the guidance of thoſe principles, which alone could direct it aright. Is it, alas! by the inſtigations of this evil demon, that it turns aſide from the paths of virtue, and neglecting the true ſcheme of rational life, perplexes itſelf with many vain and painful deſires, till it is at length bewildered in an endleſs labyrinth of hurtful purſuits? And is it then, that in conſequence of this depravity ſo far owing to his own malignant influences, that the curſt ARIMANIUS is afterwards permitted to exhauſt his utmoſt malice in puniſhing thoſe by all kind of natural evils, whom he himſelf

hath ſeduced and rendered obnoxious to them? Will the good and gracious OROMASDES ſuffer this to be? Teach me to ſolve theſe difficulties; inſtruct me better, if it be lawful, in the circumſtances of our nature, and ſhow me how, amidſt all theſe intricacies, to maintain the power and juſtify the goodneſs of OROMASDES. Theſe indeed are ſpeculations which ill beſit me, and to which I have little time to attend in my preſent ſituation and employment. But the miſeries, which are daily repreſented to me, poſſeſs my mind with ſuch ſolemn gloom, that I cannot forbear often to indulge the anxious wanderings of my own thoughts therein. It is in thoſe peaceful manſions where you inhabit, that the mind is at liberty to examine into theſe abſtruſer doctrines; and enlightened by the eternal OROMASDES, may reflect upon itſelf the lively image of his beloved emanation, truth. Happy were thoſe minutes, and I ſhall always rank them among the happieſt of my whole life, which I ſpent with you in divine converſation, when I travelled into Bactria. How tranſported do I call to mind the hours when I was permitted to mingle among the learned crowd, and lay at your feet, while you preſided in the ſchools of the Magi! But how inexpreſſible is the remembrance of ſome few happy times, when with you I wandered in thoſe bliſsful paths, which heavenly contemplation ſeems before all others to have choſen for her peculiar abodes. It grieves me, faithful SMERDIS, that any anxiety ſhould diſcompoſe you amidſt thoſe delightful ſcenes,

much more, any about my ſafety. A true zeal for the ſervice of the Perſian monarch, to whom I am bound in the ſtricteſt allegiance from the perſonal regards I owe him, has more than any other conſideration attached me to his intereſts. Whatever then be ordained my fate, I ſhall endeavour with the greateſt compoſure to ſubmit to it. For that being, whom I have learnt among you to adore with a purer worſhip, that immaterial and inviſible, call him OROMASDES, or whatever other name ſhall beſt expreſs him to us, however clouds and darkneſs at preſent are about him, or at leaſt involve our weaker underſtandings, cannot, I am perſuaded, but be both powerful, juſt, and good; neither will I believe that he who ſincerely ſeeks to pleaſe him by acting virtuouſly, will in the event of things be neglected by him. In the midſt of theſe calamities at Athens, the famous HIPPOCRATES is arrived there; a man ſo eminent for his excellent ſkill and ſucceſs in phyſic, that the greateſt king thought no price too high to purchaſe him; a man, whoſe upright integrity, undaunted conſtancy, and love of the Grecian name endears him to the Athenians beyond their greateſt benefactors, as his forementioned excellencies raiſe their eſteem and veneration for him, as if their god APOLLO or ÆSCULAPIUS were come down among them. And though it were preſumption almoſt in any thing to differ from thee, (and ſurely thy zeal for the Perſian glory, and extreme veneration of the great king, can never be too much applauded,) yet ſay, O gentle SMERDIS,

can ſuch a man deſerve ſo ſevere a cenſure? The refuſal is indeed aſtoniſhing; ſuch wealth, ſuch power, ſuch intereſt with the greateſt monarch of the world, were a bribe almoſt for the ſtricteſt virtue. But HIPPOCRATES can all this withſtand: amazing obſtinacy a Perſian would call it, ſince the ſubjects of the great king have learnt to fall before his throne, and proſtrate themſelves at his footſtool as to the ſhrine of ſome god; and I doubt not but cuſtom has ſo well reconciled to them a government, which the Greeks call ſlavery, that they do this with the heartieſt veneration for their ſovereign; and where ſo excellent a prince preſides, this may be perhaps the moſt perfect form of government. But as the genius and cuſtoms of countries vary, of courſe the manners of men muſt differ; and a diverſity of circumſtances will make that in one inſtance laudable, which were quite otherwiſe in another. To be born, educated, and converſe in the free ſtates of Greece muſt neceſſarily form the mind to principles of liberty, and ſettle in it very oppoſite notions of what is great and virtuous, to thoſe a Perſian will from his education imbibe. It has done ſo all along while Greece retained its priſtine glory; and can there then be a more illuſtrious example of Grecian virtue, can the love of one's country be carried higher, or can inflexible honor and unbiaſſed greatneſs of ſoul be ſhown in any inſtance that exceeds this?

From Salamis. L.

LETTER XXI.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER *at* Salamis. *From* Saba *in* Arabia.

LEAVING Babylon we fell down the king's river into the Tigris, the cataracts in this part of it being lately removed at the repreſentation of ſome eminent merchants; and were conducted in one of the royal galleys to the Perſian gulf, and landed upon Arabia the Happy at the Portus Itamus, the firſt haven beyond the mountains which divide that diſtrict from the ſandy deſerts. As ſoon as we came into the Sabæan territories, the whole country ſeemed one univerſal altar, ever breathing forth ſpontaneous incenſe to the heavens. The ſweet effluvia are wafted by the winds, and ſpread a grateful fragrance for many miles beyond the coaſts. And even the ſhores are covered with caſſia and other odoriferous plants, that perfume the air with a ſtrange variety of healthful and pleaſant ſcents.

The rich product of this happy land brought to my mind the fable of MYRRHA's transformation, and her deteſtable paſſion for her father CINYRAS. The fictions indeed of a poetical fancy are commonly as arbitrary as the ſtories of the vulgar are incredible and ridiculous; and yet many traditionary fables, however wild and improbable they appear, are capable of being traced up to ſome very diſtant origin of truth. And thus, I was not a little ſurpriſed

being told by a native of this country, that there is a people in the farthest limits of the other Arabia, bordering upon Syria, whose descent is by the most ancient and best warranted records of history, deduced from an unnatural mixture of the same kind; they inhabit upon the river Arnon, and their chief city is Areopolis. The country, as we entered it farther and came nearer to Saba, still grew more ravishing, as well to the eye as the other senses [9]. We saw in our way several wild asses and ostriches of a large size, though both are more common in the deserts beyond the mountains. The first are exceedingly fleet, but the way of hunting them is by horsemen placed up and down in different parts of the chase; for the creature, after having run some time, will stop and stand still, but regains ground again so fast, that no single horse can keep up after it. Their flesh is esteemed by the luxurious in eating much nicer than that of venison. The ostrich is not to be taken, because when her feet fail her, she can use her wings to escape. The spacious plains, that lie between the mountains, are garnished with the freshest herbage, and laid out by nature in the most beautiful garden, where the fertile soil teams with aromatic gums and the party-colored blossoms of odoriferous spices. The sides of the mountains still exceed the vallies in plenteousness. There rise the clearest springs,

[9] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. Ed. Francof. lib. prim. p. 256.

which, after they have run among the hills, ſupply refreſhing rivers to water the plains beneath. The hanging groves of palm-trees on the ſteepeſt declivities ſhade the delighted traveller, while the impending rays of a more genial ſun ripen the vegetable juices, and amidſt the pregnant minerals digeſt the rich ſeeds of gold [10]. Saba, the ancient metropolis of this happy land, is ſituated on an eaſy aſcent: the mountains that ſurround it riſe and fall in ſhapes the moſt pleaſingly ſtriking and romantic, diſcovering the ſummits of other hills beyond them, which are ſeen in proſpect from the royal town, till the eye is loſt in an undiſtinguiſhed maſs of fainter riſings, blended by their diſtance amidſt tranſparent clouds. I call it the royal town, for a ſort of kingly government ſtill ſubſiſts in it [11]; nor have the Arabians of this diſtrict been ever ſubjected to a foreign power, as the Arabians in general are rather friends and allies to the Perſian empire, as they were before to the Aſſyrian, than vaſſals and tributaries to either; though upon ſome occaſions they have courted by preſents the favor of our mighty monarchs. The riches and grandeur of this place beſpeak it to have been the ſeat of many potent princes. The palace, the citadel, and the ruins of a library, ſhow the moſt expenſive ſtate of royal magnificence. The porticos of their public

[10] Agatharchidis Periplo, p. 63.

[11] Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. initio. Herod Thal. c. 97. ibid. 91. & 7. ibid. lib. iii. c. 3.

buildings are overlaid with gold; but the ſplendor of ſome of their private houſes is incredible. A monument is ſtill ſhown in an ancient temple, where they ſay is repoſed the ſacred duſt of a queen, once the wonder and glory of the Eaſt: a queen, whoſe genius was equal to the higheſt things, and her learning and knowledge proportionate to her genius. It was her thirſt after the endowments of the latter, that induced her to travel into the diſtant country of Judæa, with infinite pomp and magnificence, to viſit a king renowned for the greatneſs of his wiſdom, the riches of his kingdom, and the proſperity of his reign. She proved him by hard queſtions, and diſcourſed with him on ſubjects of the moſt refined nature. His wiſdom, his riches, his proſperity, exceeded the reports of fame, and wrapt her in the deepeſt aſtoniſhment. Under her reign Arabia was a powerful and flouriſhing kingdom [12]; an epoch of its greatneſs more certain than the ancient times they boaſt, of their kings reigning in Babylonia before the days of NINUS. She ruled with wiſdom and equanimity, beloved by her ſubjects, and regarded by all as their common parent: her court was a college of learned men, where all were generouſly received, and met with ſuitable rewards, who made any uſeful improvements in arts and ſciences, or new diſcoveries in the knowledge of nature. Among other improvements [13],

[12] Syncell.
[13] Cicero, de Divin. lib. i. c. 42.

the Arabians are eſteemed to be ſkilled in augury and ſoothſaying. Whether there is any certainty in this ſcience, it belongs not to me to diſpute. Our great CYRUS is reported to have paid a religious regard to augury. It is not improbable, that as the warmth and pleaſantneſs of the climate will allow them to lie out all the year in the fields with their flocks and cattle, which, in ſeveral parts of this country, they are great dealers in, they may have made more obſervations than others upon the different flights and motions, the various ſounds and voices, of the fowls of the air. My ſhort ſtay here, in paſſing through the country, will not permit me to make a ſtrict inquiry into their religious doctrines and ceremonies. But the chief objects of their worſhip are the ſun and moon [14], which they name in their language Urotalt and Alilat; and to Urotalt is daily offered frankincenſe and myrrh in his temple at Saba. They pay likewiſe a religious regard to the ſouls of their moſt eminent lawgivers and benefactors [15], upon a perſuaſion, which has pretty generally prevailed throughout the world,

[14] Herod. Thal. c. 8. Philoſtorg. in Phot. Strabo, & Theophraſt.

[15] Δῆλοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ Βάρβαροι διαφερόντως τιμήσαντες τὰς αὐτῶν νομοθέτας, ψυχὰς γὰρ ἁγαθὰς κατὰ Πλάτωνα καλαλιπόσας τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον ὑπομεῖναι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τόνδε τὸν τάρταρον, καὶ σῶμα ἀναλαβόσας — ὑπολαμβάνουσι — Βραχμάνες τε σύμπαντες — ἐθεολόγησαν ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἐκείνων. Χαλδαῖοι τε καὶ Ἀράβιοι οἱ καλούμενοι Εὐδαίμονες. Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. i.

and is a principle of the philoſophy of the Sabian Magi, that thoſe excellent perſons were benevolent demons, who from a ſuperior happy ſtate deſcended into mortal bodies, and were contented to ſubmit to all the inconveniencies and evils of human life, for the benefit and advantage of mankind.

Thy letter, CLEANDER, has juſt reached me, in which thou conceiveſt too high an opinion of my parts and improvements. But however incapable I am of anſwering thy expectations, or following thy excellent rules for the direction of my travels, I am glad thou encourageſt me to unboſom to thee ſuch trivial obſervations, as a variety of new objects will naturally ſuggeſt; which to a young traveller, when the fancy is heated, and his thoughts diſtracted with repeated novelties, is next to the pleaſure he took in ſeeing the things themſelves. I rejoice that thou art removed to Salamis, and that our excellent monarch has ſuch a tender regard for his able and faithful miniſters. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XXII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

MY laſt letters, noble ſcribe, contained a faithful account of the miſerable ſtate of Athens, under the afflicting circumſtances of a war and peſtilence united to diſtreſs them. The poſture of their affairs, ſince I wrote, has received

no alteration, but what increaſes their diſcontent, and adds to their misfortunes. Beſides the continuance of the plague, the operations of this ſummer's campaign were not much in their favor. PERICLES has been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Epidaurus, and is returned home with his ſquadron, after waſting the coaſts of Peloponneſus, which is the only damage their enemies have received from this expedition. News is ſince come, that the ſiege of Potidæa goes on very ſlowly; the army before that place being much weakened, as well by the ſallies of the garriſon as by the plague, which a late reinforcement from Athens brought among them. The Peloponneſian army did not ſtay long in the territories of Attica; for hearing that PERICLES was ravaging their country, and being apprehenſive of infection from the plague, they retired home, and are now diſperſed into their reſpective cities. The Lacedæmonians are preparing to invade the iſland of Zacynthus. The party oppoſite to PERICLES take advantage of his ill ſucceſs at Epidaurus, to incenſe the people againſt him, who expected he would have made their domeſtic grievances more tolerable, by extending their power and reputation abroad. CLEON accuſes him in every aſſembly, in his inſolent and declamatory harangues, as the ſole cauſe of the miſeries of Greece. He charges him with having involved his country in an expenſive war, purely for his own intereſt, and the preſervation of his own authority; and then waſting the public treaſure in fruitleſs expeditions, and ſuffering

their enemies to inſult them at their gates, through cowardice and imprudence in the conduct of it. Another piece of ſlander is ſpread about, relating to a decree of the Athenians againſt Megara, which prohibits all commerce between the two cities, makes it capital for any native of Megara to be ſeen in the dominions of Athens, and enjoins the generals of the republic to make an annual invaſion of their territories. This ſevere decree the Lacedæmonians demanded to have reverſed; which PERICLES ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, recriminating upon the Megareans for harbouring their revolted ſlaves, and murdering an Athenian herald. However, it is confidently affirmed here, that he promoted this affair with no other view than to revenge an inſult put upon his miſtreſs ASPASIA by ſome young Megareans, who ſtole away two of her ſlaves. PERICLES and his friends juſtify his meaſures at large, againſt all theſe accuſations. They repreſent, "that "whoever conſiders the ſituation of affairs in "Greece, muſt be convinced that the war "wanted no incendiary to ſet it on foot, ſince "it owes its riſe to a very natural cauſe, the "jealouſies of Lacedæmon and Peloponneſus "of the grandeur of Athens; particularly of "the former, as they thought it had riſen upon "the ruins of theirs; that the Athenians had "paid more regard even to the literal ſenſe of "treaties than their enemies, who, before the "war broke out, required them to ſatisfy the "complaints of the Corinthians and Megareans "without farther debate, though it was expreſsly

" ſtipulated by an article of the laſt treaty be-
" tween the Grecian ſtates, that all controverſies
" ſhould be referred to arbitrators, to be de-
" termined in an amicable way, before either
" party had recourſe to arms: That many of
" the Lacedæmonians demands, though not in
" themſelves unjuſt, were yet rendered im-
" proper to be granted, by the imperious manner
" in which they were urged; and that a tame
" and ready ſubmiſſion to them would have
" been looked upon as a tacit confeſſion, in the
" Athenians, of weakneſs and puſillanimity.
" They vindicate the management of the war,
" by laying it down as a clear maxim, that
" every ſtate ſhould exert its natural ſtrength
" in carrying one on; and that the Athenian
" ſuperiority in a naval force makes it neceſſary
" to form ſuch a plan of operations as is moſt
" ſuitable to the ſea-ſervice: That the Pelo-
" ponneſian invaſion of Attica can never be of
" long duration, becauſe the country furniſhes
" no ſubſiſtence for the forces; and it would
" be a raſh attempt to beſiege ſo ſtrong and
" well-garriſoned a city as Athens: That in
" the mean time their coaſts are expoſed, their
" commerce ruined, and their ſquadrons not
" able to reſiſt thoſe of the Athenians."

This is the ſum of the charge on the one hand, and the defence on the other. Thoſe who exert themſelves with moſt addreſs in behalf of PERICLES, are his nephew ALCIBIADES, a young man of an aſpiring diſpoſition, and his old friend EPHIALTES the orator. CLEON, HYPERBOLUS, and TOLMIDES, men of low birth, but

but ſome popular talents, are the great oppoſers of his adminiſtration. And though I am far from thinking it faultleſs, yet, in the preſent diſpute, I believe moſt argument will be found on his ſide, and the greateſt variety of ſcandal on that of his adverſaries. However, things here are in a very fluctuating condition. At preſent the people ſhow themſelves ſo uneaſy at the continuance of the plague and the war together, that in the laſt aſſembly ambaſſadors were ſent to Lacedæmon to declare that they were ready to accept peace on any reaſonable conditions. But I hear the laſt letters from thence give no hopes of obtaining it. I ſhall conclude this diſpatch with mentioning, that HIPPOCRATES of Cos was ordered, by a late decree, to be initiated in the ſacred myſteries, to be preſented with a crown of gold, to enjoy all the privileges of an Athenian citizen, and to be maintained at the public charge for the reſt of his life.

Such, potent miniſter, are the rewards of virtue amongſt the Grecians; ſuch the incitements to deſpiſe danger in the ſervice of their country! A crown, beſtowed by the free voice of the ſtate; a ſtatue erected to their honor; or a mark of reſpect ſhown to their poſterity; are ſufficient recompences for the moſt illuſtrious actions, and allowed to none but perſons of diſtinguiſhed merits. Whilſt they can attain theſe, they deſpiſe the treaſures of the Eaſt, and account it more honorable to be a native of Athens or Sparta, though upon the level with their fellow-citizens, than a ſatrap of

Perſia, who has the ineſtimable diſtinction of approaching the ſplendid throne of the lord of Aſia.

From Salamis. P.

LETTER XXIII.

ARTAPHERNES *to* CLEANDER. *From the Foreſt of* Nyſa, *near* Ecbatana.

I SHOULD own myſelf unworthy the correſpondence you began laſt year in the hurry of your firſt arrival at Athens, if the diſordered ſtate of the province of Lydia, which was then added, by the king's goodneſs, to my former government of Sardis, did not furniſh me with a ſufficient excuſe.

The corruptions and irregularities which, under the ſatrap my predeceſſor, had crept into the military and civil affairs of the province, as the management of the forces, the revenue, and the judicial proceedings, required not only an early, but in many caſes a ſevere correction. I was obliged to remove ſeveral of the chief officers, to puniſh others as they deſerved, and to prefer thoſe who, for their abilities and integrity, were before neglected and diſgraced. But as the moſt neceſſary reformation ſeldom fails of making the promoter of it unpopular, complaints were made againſt me at court by the perſons removed, which, at the earneſt requeſt of their friends, occaſioned a particular order to the inſpectors, who are

ſent annually through the provinces of the empire to examine the conduct of the governors, that they ſhould make a ſtrict inquiry into mine. After a long and exact examination, I was declared to have acted, not only with impartial juſtice, but with the greateſt regard to the honor of the empire, and the ſervice of the king. And ſoon after the commiſſioners had made their report, I received a letter of thanks and approbation, ſigned with the king's own ſignet, beſides a rich Median veſt, a farther proof of the royal favor. The affairs of Lydia being now quiet, and proceeding in a regular well-ordered courſe, I took a journey this ſummer to viſit my friends at Ecbatana, and write to you from MEGABYZUS's palace in the foreſt of Nyſa; where that great man entertains his friends with that humanity and politeneſs which are ſo natural to him. HYDASPES, GOBRYAS, and INTAPHERNES, the captain of the Immortals, lay aſide, now they are here, the manners of the court and the formalities of their offices; and converſe upon the terms of freedom without levity, and friendſhip without affected reſerves. However, that we may not quite forget our diſtinct employments, and think ourſelves tranſformed into Bactrian Magi, it frequently happens, that the miniſter is ſummoned to council, the ſecretary returns to his office, the chamberlain to his ſtation in the palace, the commander to his quarters; and all of us attend the king to the chaſe, which, you know, is the uſual diverſion of the court. At the laſt hunting match on Mount Orontes, a fierce tiger

leaped out of a cloſe thicket, and ſprung forwards towards the king, who was in the utmoſt danger. ARTYPHIUS, the ſon of MEGABYZUS, ſtepped immediately before him, and with one ſtroke of his javelin laid the furious beaſt dead upon the ſpot. Nor was our generous lord unmindful of ſo ſignal an inſtance of courage and reſolution; for he preſented his deliverer with a gold chain worth 1000 darics, beſides adding the moſt obliging expreſſions of praiſe and eſteem. This accident has been the more talked of, as the father was formerly diſgraced for the very ſame thing that now procures rewards to the ſon. But the caſe of the former gave riſe to an edict, declaring it lawful to ſtrike a beaſt before the king had flung his dart, which was before looked upon as the higheſt inſtance of diſreſpect. The Caduſians have, from their mountainous country, made an incurſion upon the northern parts of Media, taken a rich booty, and defeated the ſatrap, who attempted to oppoſe their ravages. A body of troops lately marched towards thoſe frontiers, and ARTYPHIUS ſet out to-day with a ſtronger detachment to reinforce them. His late brave action furthered not a little his advancement to be general in this expedition; and as he is a young man of extraordinary ſkill and valor, it is not doubted but that he will ſoon reduce theſe barbarians. I think you will know all the court news, when I have told you that BAGORAZES, the eunuch, is made cup-bearer. HYDASPES, the chamberlain, communicated your laſt letter to the company here, which

gave them great entertainment. They are only concerned that Perſia cannot afford materials of equal value for an anſwer. Your friends think ſhortly of uſing your aſſiſtance in the purchaſe of Grecian books and curioſities. Such commiſſions will not be the leaſt troubleſome part of your employment. Your repeated acknowledgments for the good offices I did you with the Perſian miniſters were quite unneceſſary; it is a ſufficient return that you anſwer their higheſt expectations. Farewel.

P.

LETTER XXIV.

MEGABYZUS *to* CLEANDER. *From* Ecbatana.

THOUGH GOBRYAS has already acquainted thee with what approbation thy accounts of the affairs of Greece are received, and in his laſt diſpatch had orders to open to thee the plan on which we determined to proceed in relation to theſe Grecian quarrels, and the reaſons on which we formed it; yet I by no means think myſelf diſpenſed from acknowledging thy letters, or expreſſing, as well the particular ſatisfaction they have given me, as the hopes I conceive, that thy paſt ſervices will produce others of ſtill greater value and importance. The plague, that rages at Athens, makes us a little impatient to know, whether it will produce an alteration in their meaſures;

for affairs in a popular conſtitution are always ſo fluctuating and unſteady, that any preſent inconvenience or misfortune turns the courſe of their politics, and even ſhakes the foundations of their government. At the ſame time, though the Athenians have already offered peace, I much queſtion whether the Lacedæmonians will accept it, without impoſing conditions the moſt diſadvantageous to the commerce and greatneſs of the former; perhaps obliging them to leſſen the number of their ſhips, or give up the protection of the moſt uſeful of their allies. But if ever the Athenians ſubmit to theſe terms, they will loſe the two chief ſources of their power and wealth, and be reduced to the ſame inconſiderable ſtate, from whence they were raiſed, in my memory, by the judgment and valor of THEMISTOCLES.

Nor will it be for the intereſt of Perſia, that either Lacedæmon or Athens ſhould obtain the ſuperiority over the reſt of Greece, or be able to influence their counſels. In that caſe, the ruling commonwealth would be always ready and able to undertake ſome united enterpriſe againſt Perſia, invade the fertile provinces of Aſia Minor, waſte our coaſts, encourage the diſaffection of our governors, always prepared, through fear of puniſhment for their oppreſſions, to ſhake off their obedience, and erect the provinces intruſted to their care into independent principalities. But I hope for better things; that the ſpirit of our great CYRUS, which watches over the mighty empire he ſo gloriouſly founded, will preſerve the throne of his poſterity from

ſuch inſults; that the peace we continue to enjoy, will help us to expel every noxious humor or latent venom of fraud, rapine, and corruption, from the various parts of our government; that a ſtrict exerciſe of military diſcipline may reſtore to us thoſe hardy troops, which ravaged the empire of the Eaſt from the Aſſyrians, and made us maſters of the wealth and pompous ſtructures of Egypt; and that a regular and ſteady purſuit of well-grounded counſels may enable us to balance the diviſions of Greece, and preſerve ſuch an equality of power amongſt its different ſtates, as to turn the ſcale effectually whenever we interpoſe.

The Peloponneſian ambaſſadors, with Aristæus of Corinth at their head, are already on their way towards Thrace, where they are ordered to execute a commiſſion with Sitalces, and from thence to repair to the court of our great monarch. We ſhall not be in haſte to diſpatch them, but under pretence of examining the cauſes of their quarrel with Athens, and the motives they may offer to engage us in their alliance, detain them, till we ſee, whether the Athenians will follow them in applying for our aſſiſtance, or till the fortune of the war determines us which part it is moſt advantageous to Perſia to ſupport. In the mean time, continue to inquire, whether the Athenians are informed of this embaſſy, and ſend us ſpeedy advice what reſolutions they take upon it, by which it will be very neceſſary for us to regulate our behaviour. Our curioſity is not leſs raiſed to know how Pericles ſtands his

ground in this difficult ſituation. I cannot think they have any one conſiderable enough, either for abilities or authority, to ſucceed him in the chief management of their affairs. Be aſſured, CLEANDER, that however theſe fickle republics, founded in diſcord and mutability, change their favorites, becauſe the ſhining luſtre of their great qualities expoſe them to the malicious efforts of popular envy, the court of Perſia follows no ſuch maxim; the unjuſt cuſtom of oſtraciſm is not yet eſtabliſhed here. Thy merits, far from giving umbrage, ſecure to thee the protection of thy prince and the eſteem of his miniſters; and far from obſtructing thy advancement, or rendering thee liable to diſgrace, are the ſureſt and moſt honorable methods of furthering thy progreſs in the one, and preſerving thee from any danger of the other. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XXV.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Thebes *in* Ægypt.

AFTER we had traverſed Arabia, and ſeen in our way the ſepulchre of Iſis and Oſiris at Nyſa, the pillars of which are inſcribed in the ſacred Ægyptian letters, we paſſed the Idumæan gulf, and our tour lay ſtrait for No-Ammon. This is the ancient Thebes of Ægypt, celebrated in the writings of the Grecian HOMER. The

city is in circuit 140 ſtadia, but anciently took in a much greater compaſs; and both for the magnificence of its buildings, as well as the wealth contained within its walls, was eſteemed not only the moſt beautiful and noble one of Ægypt, but of the whole world. From the long records of the Theban dynaſty, it appears to have been founded in the earlieſt times. It was taken by ſurpriſe [16], and firſt pillaged by the Carthaginians, when the riſing greatneſs of their republic began firſt to annoy the neighbouring ſtates. It was afterwards invaded by the Aſſyrian, but ſuffered moſt from the madneſs of Cambyses, when he returned from his Æthiopian expedition. It was then that ancient temple here, the largeſt and richeſt of the four, ſo admirable for its beauty and greatneſs, was ſtript of its gold, ivory, and precious ſtones. However, the fabric is left ſtanding, and its circuit is 13 ſtadia, 45 cubits the height, with a wall 24 feet broad. There are about the city innumerable coloſſal ſtatues and obeliſks of one entire ſtone; and theſe form, on every ſide of this famous capital, thoſe ſtately avenues which add ſo much to its apparent largeneſs. The many quarries of marble and prophyry, of which the upper Ægypt is full to the ſouth, had furniſhed them with materials; nor can we wonder that they found hands to raiſe ſuch ſtupendous works, when we are told that the ancient kings of Thebes carried their conqueſts as far as Scythia, Bactria, and

[16] Hanc inter exordia pandentis ſe late Carthaginis improviſo exercitu duces oppreſſere Pœnorum.
Ammian. Marcell. lib. xvii.

India. The city extends for a great length on both ſides the Nile; and in ancient times an hundred ſtables lay along the river, on the Lybian ſide, from Thebes to Memphis, each of which would contain 200 horſes, which were always ready for the ſervice of the ſtate and the quick diſpatches of public couriers; and many of theſe remain to this day very entire.

Among the principal wonders of Ægypt is always ranked the vocal ſtatue of MEMNON [17], which is of a ſtone called the Biſaltes, of the hardneſs and color of iron: Half of it from the head to the middle was broken off by CAMBYSES; what remains is in a ſitting poſture, the feet and legs cloſed together. The ſound it utters at ſun-riſing reſembles that of the ſtrings of a lyre, that is cracked and out of tune: the ſound I am witneſs to, but cannot be ſure whether it came from the baſe or the ſtatue, or from any by-ſtander. Near this place [18] are concealed under-ground the moſt venerable remains of Ægyptian antiquity, I mean the pillars of HERMES [19]. It was with much ſolicitation and difficulty I gained admittance to the place where they were ſhown, and by a particular favor of the prieſts, for which I am indebted to PHARNUCES, the governor. Within the encloſure of an ancient edifice, a repoſitory of the ſacred books and

[17] Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 7. Pauſan. Att. p. 78. Philoſt. lib. vi. c. 3.

[18] Thebis trans Nilum ad Συριγγας quas vocant ſtatua eſt reſonans. Pauſ. Att. p. 78.

[19] Syncell. p. 40. b. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. p. 23a.

other monuments, you descend a great depth by rough and craggy steps in the rock; the place seems to have been formerly dug into as a quarry. At the bottom a large gap opens before you, through which I was conducted into several dark chambers by perplexed winding passages, till at last I discovered a distant glimmering light, which directed me through a long narrow avenue, the farther end of which opened into a spacious cave. The strange solemnity of the place must strike every one that enters it with a religious horror; and is the most proper to work you up into that frame of mind, in which you will receive, with the most awful reverence and assent, whatever the priest who attends you is pleased to reveal concerning the wonderful monuments deposited therein. Towards the farther end of the cave, or within the inmost recess of some prodigious caverns that run beyond it, you hear, as it were a great way off, a noise resembling the distant roarings of the sea, and sometimes like the fall of waters dashing against rocks with great impetuosity. The noise is supposed to be so stunning and frightful, if you approach it, that few, they say, are inquisitive enough to search far into those mysterious sportings of nature. It put me in mind of those caverns [20] of the Magi, under the mountains of my native Persia, where, by a strange reverberation of sounds in those hollow cavities, at first you hear a confused murmur,

[20] Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. vi.

like the noiſe of numerous armies at the onſet of the battle; as you proceed farther, the noiſe thickens upon you as in the heat of an engagement; at laſt, it reſembles the ſhouts and acclamations of a victory. The arrangement of the lamps in this cave is exceeding beautiful. There are taper pillars from the ground to the height of the vault, probably left in that faſhion when part of the natural rock was excavated, and the lamps hang about them from the bottom to the top. Surrounded with theſe pillars of lamps are each of thoſe venerable columns, which I am now to ſpeak of, inſcribed in the hieroglyphical letters with the primæval myſteries of the Ægyptian learning. They are ſaid to have been placed here by HERMES TRISMEGISTUS [21], a ſage as highly reverenced amongſt the Ægyptians, as ZOROASTER is with us. To him [22] they aſcribe the contrivance of letters, and the firſt forming of articulate ſounds, and every other invention of chief uſe to human life. They will not ſettle his antiquity; only told me, that theſe pillars had withſtood the ſtrongeſt ſhocks of nature, and remained firm and entire, when an univerſal deluge laid waſte and ſhattered this terraqueous globe. The ſame perſon, I obſerve, they generally call THOTH, or ATHOTHES. To this MERCURY is attributed the famous computation of 36,525 years, in which period of time he

[21] Or rather Mer-Cheres Triſmegiſtus.
[22] Diod. Sic. lib. i.

ſuppoſed the ſeveral heavenly bodies did exactly go through all the relations, which they could have in their motions, to one another, and came round to the ſame point from which all their courſes began; and upon theſe pillars, ſay the prieſts, he has given a perfect demonſtration of it. To theſe their hiſtorians have recourſe for the ancient annals of this country. From theſe pillars, and the ſacred books, they maintain that all the philoſophy and learning of the world has been derived. From theſe the ancient ORPHEUS borrowed his celebrated ſyſtem of the origin of things. To theſe PYTHAGORAS and THALES were indebted for thoſe diſcoveries which have eſtabliſhed their reputation to all ſucceeding ages. It was my good fortune to be here at a time when a great ſacrifice and luſtration to the myſterious HERMES, or MERCURY, was to be ſolemnized within the bowels of this ſtupendous cave, which is done once in fifty years; at which time only it is granted, and that through a particular mark of favor and courteſy, to ſome ſtranger of rank and diſtinction, to be admitted within theſe hallowed caverns. At other times only the tedious diſcipline and preparations which PYTHAGORAS for thirty years underwent, to be initiated into their myſteries, would qualify one to be admitted to theſe ſacred monuments.

The city takes its ancient name from the god AMMUN, whom the Greeks call JUPITER. He is the ſame with SATURN, or CHRONUS, the father of OSIRIS. From his other names,

which are THAMUS [23] and CHAMUS, the whole land ſtill retains at Thebes the name of Chemia [24]. He is repreſented with the face of a ram; and in Thebais the killing of that ſpecies of animals would be puniſhed as a moſt heinous and capital offence, which may be done but one day in the year, in the feſtivals of their god; and then a ſingle ram is ſlain, and his ſkin [25] fleaed off to be hung upon the ſtatue of AMMUN; and the image of HERCULES muſt be brought and ſet before it; becauſe it is ſaid the god appeared in that manner to HERCULES, upon his earneſt and preſſing inſtances to ſee him. The carcaſe of the ram is afterwards beaten by all that attend at the ſolemnity, and then buried in one of the ſacred repoſitories.

It is a tradition here [26], that the firſt prieſteſſes of the Libyan oracle of JUPITER AMMUN, and of the Dodonæan oracle in Greece, were taken away, and ſold by the Phœnicians into thoſe countries out of Thebes.

I ſhall ſtay here ſome time, from whence I may entertain you with freſh varieties, if my report of things is in any ſort intereſting. Adieu. L.

[23] Plato in Phœdro. Βασιλέως τότε ὅλος Αἰγύπτου ὅλης Θαμοῦς περὶ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ ἄνω τόπου, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἀμμῶνα. p. 1240. b.

[24] Εἰς τὸν Αἴγυπτον Χημία καλοῦσιν. Plutar. de Iſide.

[25] Herod. Euterp. 42. [26] Ibid. 54, 55.

LETTER XXVI.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Salamis.

SINCE my laſt diſpatch, noble ſcribe, the ſtate of Athens has continued in a perpetual ferment. The jars and cabals of oppoſite factions, the calamities of the plague, the weight and charge of the war, a general diſlike of the preſent meaſures, and no unanimity in a ſteady purſuit of others, have by turns occaſioned the utmoſt perplexity in the counſels, and impatience in the tempers, of this people.

The ambaſſadors they had ſent to Lacedæmon declared at their return, that peace could be obtained on no terms, but ſuch as were abſolutely diſadvantageous and unreaſonable. When the preſent condition of their affairs was debated in an extraordinary aſſembly, PERICLES roſe, and with a reſolution not to be daunted by the clamors of his adverſaries, and a ſtrength of argument which they were unable to confute, endeavoured to ſoften the irritated minds of the people, to raiſe their drooping ſpirits, and to turn their reſentment from himſelf upon the Lacedæmonians. He repreſented to them, "That the reaſons which "induced him to enter into this war were ſtill "the ſame, and received no alteration from "the croſs accidents of fortune; which it was "impoſſible for the moſt refined human pru-"dence to foreſee or prevent: That the miſ-"fortunes of particulars ought not to make

" them neglect the common intereſt of the " whole, which could not be ſecured, but by " preſerving their bravery and independence: " That whilſt they continued maſters of the " ſea, the ravages of their lands, or the loſs " of their country-ſeats, were not to be regard- " ed; theſe might eaſily be recovered: but if " they ſuffered their ſpirits to ſink, and deſ- " paired of ſucceſs, they would not only be " deprived of ſuch ornamental advantages, but " of the moſt eſſential one of all, in which " conſiſted the very being of their republic, " their liberty. Therefore (concluded he) " leave off blaming your governors for an event " that ſeems inflicted by the hand of Providence; " ſince evils from Heaven are to be patiently " ſubmitted to, thoſe from men to be valiantly " oppoſed. Rouſe up, Athenians, your an- " cient reſolution and generoſity; ſend no " more heralds to the Lacedæmonians, and " ſhow yourſelves as well worthy as able to " maintain your pretenſions of being at the " head of Greece." I have given this ſhort account of PERICLES's ſpeech, that the Perſian miniſters might have an idea both of the manner of addreſſing the people in theſe democratical governments, and of that particular force and vivacity which diſtinguiſh the eloquence of this great ſtateſman. He obtained part of what he contended for; the aſſembly reſolved that no more overtures of peace ſhould be made to the allies; but at the ſame time, in the height of their warmth and violence, deprived him of his command, and fined him fifty talents, upon the

the motion of CLEON and SIMMIAS. Thus PERICLES, who has ſo long diſpoſed, almoſt abſolutely, of the treaſures, forces, and honors of Athens, is reduced by a ſingle vote to the condition of a private citizen; undiſtinguiſhed by any, except his former reputation and eminent abilities, which ſpread ſuch a luſtre round him, that no artful coloring of his adverſaries can ever deface. Nay, perhaps, to a philoſophic eye he appears greater in his diſgrace, which he bears with temper, than adorned with all the glory of external grandeur and dignity. The death of ſeveral of his friends and chief confidents in buſineſs, and the diviſions occaſioned in his family, through the extravagance of his ſon XANTIPPUS, add no ſmall preſſure to his misfortunes.

As ſoon as theſe animoſities begin to cool, I ſhall not fail to ſend advice in what hands the adminiſtration ſeems moſt likely to be lodged; whether in a ſet of new favorites, or (as ſeveral imagine) in thoſe of the old one. I come now to anſwer the particular direction thou gaveſt me concerning the Peloponneſian embaſſy, which has been ſince repeated by MEGABYZUS; and I am ſorry my information muſt prove diſagreeable, for the Athenians are now acquainted with the deſign on which the ambaſſadors are ſent to SITALCES and our great maſter, and the route they are to take. Yeſterday the ſenate diſpatched a courier, with private orders to their miniſters at the court of SITALCES; and though the contents of them are not publicly known, and are kept as ſecret

as any thing can be in a popular government, I have no room to doubt that they contain a demand that the Peloponnefian ambaſſadors ſhould be put into their hands; in which requeſt they expect to be aſſiſted by SADOCUS, the ſon of the Thracian prince, who was laſt year made a citizen of Athens. ARISTEUS, the chief of the embaſſy, is particularly aimed at: it appears that the revolt of Potidea, and the troubles in Thrace, are owing to his contrivance. Might I preſume to adviſe the Perſian miniſtry, if this letter arrives in time, ſome perſon of addreſs and ſkill in the Thracian manners ſhould be ſent, on the part of the king, to SITALCES, and endeavour, either by menaces or bribes, to prevent ſo baſe a compliance. But thou muſt receive advice of the iſſue of this matter much ſooner from PHARNABAZUS, the governor of the Helleſpont, than from hence. I cannot, however, help expreſſing my concern for the ſafety of theſe ambaſſadors. The Athenians, in their preſent headſtrong ungovernable diſpoſition, and the warm reſentment they expreſs againſt the Lacedæmonians, are not likely to pay much regard to their ſacred rights.

I ſhall take the firſt opportunity of removing to Athens, whenever it can be done without danger of infection from the plague. In the mean time, illuſtrious ſatrap, permit me to return my humbleſt acknowledgments for the honor of the confidence thou repoſeſt in me; unworthy as I am to partake in the councils of Perſia, I will at leaſt make no ill uſe of thoſe intruſted to my ſecrecy, but punctually

obſerving the orders I receive, and regulating my own conduct by the rules they preſcribe, I will endeavour to ſupply all deficiencies in knowledge and experience, by the zeal and integrity of my ſervice. P.

LETTER XXVII.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES. *From* Salamis.

I WOULD endeavour, noble ſatrap, to equal, if not the agreeable and lively ſtyle, which embelliſhes thy letters, at leaſt that judicious choice of materials in them, which joins ſo artfully inſtruction to ornament; and I imagine, that a ſhort ſurvey of the preſent ſtate of Grecian philoſophy will not be an unentertaining ſpeculation to one of thy improved and extenſive curioſity. Beſides the general uſe of an inquiry, which lays before us a kind of hiſtory of human reaſon, of the diſcoveries it is capable of making, the exalted heights to which it can attain, and the gradual and regular ſteps by which it proceeds in the ſearch of uſeful truth, I pleaſe myſelf with thinking, that a particular advantage, with regard to thee, will attend my diſcuſſing this ſubject. For as Ægypt may be called the parent ſoil of ſcience, from whence the Greek philoſophers tranſplanted many doctrines taught in the colleges of the prieſts, to cultivate them afterwards in their own ſchools; it is probable, that a view of the chief tenets maintained in the latter will further thy inquiries into the

more myſterious learning of the former, which muſt reciprocally throw in light upon ſome obſcurities in the conduct and notions of thoſe who, by their long ſtay in Ægypt, received no ſmall tincture of the manners of their inſtructors. The Greek philoſophy is at preſent divided into two principal ſects, the Ionic, which was founded by THALES the Mileſian, and the Italic, which owes its riſe to PYTHAGORAS. THALES was born in the 35th olympiad, and is remarkable for being the firſt Grecian who taught a regular ſyſtem of philoſophy, and left a ſucceſſion of diſciples behind him to eſtabliſh and maintain it. In the earlier part of his life he travelled into Ægypt, and during a reſidence of ſeveral years there, applied himſelf with ſuch genius and induſtry to the ſciences, under the direction of the prieſts, that he became able at laſt even to inſtruct his maſters; and, it is ſaid, ſhowed them how to meaſure the height of the pyramids. He was afterwards employed in the ſervice of CROESUS king of Lydia; and contrived to make the river Halys fordable for the army of that prince, by drawing off the water into trenches. On his return to Greece, he lived in a learned retirement, dividing his time between the culture of his favorite ſtudies, geometry and aſtronomy, and the inſtruction of his followers, who held him in the utmoſt veneration. He has left ſeveral moral precepts on record; but is moſt celebrated for his knowledge of nature. He taught, that water was the principle out of which the Supreme Being created all things; that the univerſe is filled

with inviſible ſpirits, who inſpect the actions of men; that the earth is ſituated in the middle of the world, and moves round its own centre. He was the firſt among the Greeks who calculated eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and made obſervations on the motions of the celeſtial bodies. It is owing to him, that thoſe wonderful phenomena, which by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious are looked upon as omens of approaching calamity, and tokens of the Divine wrath, appear to the philoſophic eye as the ſimple and regular operations of beneficent and various nature; a diſcovery which alone ought to recommend his name to the eſteem of poſterity. He died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, whilſt he was preſent at the Olympic games, and ANAXIMANDER ſucceeded him in the Ionic ſchool. There is little known of this philoſopher, except that in ſome points he did not adhere to the doctrine of his maſter; particularly he held, that there was nothing in the univerſe but an immenſe matter endowed with an infinite motion; and that in the fruitful boſom of the immenſe matter, every thing was produced by an eternal revolution of forms. By eſtabliſhing this ſyſtem, he excluded, at leaſt tacitly, the exiſtence of a ſupreme intelligent firſt cauſe. ANAXIMENES, his ſucceſſor, aſcribed the origin of all things to the air, and exerted his mechanical ſkill in the invention of a ſun-dial, which was firſt ſet up at Lacedæmon, to the no ſmall admiration of that warlike but unpoliſhed people. The ſchool of THALES was tranſported by ANAXAGORAS

from Miletus, where till his time it had flouriſhed, to Athens, as a more conſpicuous theatre for his talents to diſplay themſelves in. This philoſopher was of a noble family in Ionia; but renounced all pretenſions to a ſhare in the government of his country, and the inheritance of a conſiderable eſtate, in order to apply himſelf with leſs interruption to the ſtudy of wiſdom and the ſearch of truth. Whilſt he reſided at Athens, he had the honor of reckoning PERICLES amongſt his diſciples; and it is generally believed, that the ſtateſman owes no ſmall part of his political as well as natural knowledge to the lectures of the ſpeculative ſage. The enemies of the former, unable to ruin his credit with the people, reſolved to attack him in the perſons of his friends, and accuſed ANAXAGORAS of degrading the ſun from the number of the gods, by defining it to be a maſs of fiery matter. The Athenians, who, by an odd contradiction, expreſs frequently a warm zeal for the honor of their deities, when injured, as they imagine, by the philoſophers, though they ſuffer them to be expoſed with the low buffoonery of the comic poets, condemned him to death; but he avoided the ſentence, by retiring to Lampſacus, where he died ſoon after. His diſciples erected two altars to his memory, and dedicated the one to the eternal mind, and the other to truth.

ANAXAGORAS always declared himſelf againſt the notion of the world's being formed by chance, and attributed the order and life which are obſervable in it to the direction of an infinitely

wife and powerful mind. He held that there is no vacuum in nature; that every body is divifible in infinitum, and compofed of little particles of a fimilar nature, as blood, for inftance, of particles of blood, water of particles of water, &c. But I need not tire thy patience, with enlarging further on the lives and tenets of the philofophers of this fect: what I have already faid is fufficient to give thee a tolerable idea of them; and thou haft judgment enough to perceive, that many of their opinions, being only founded on the probable aflertions of fyftem, inftead of proofs drawn from nature herfelf, muft be left for confirmation, or rejection, to the more accurate inquiries of future ages. I fhall only add, that the Ionic fchool under ARCHELAUS, its prefent chief, has produced a difciple who feems likely to eclipfe the fame, not only of his maftier, but of every philofopher who has yet arifen in Greece. His name is SOCRATES, and he applies himfelf wholly to the moral part of philofophy, neglecting the natural, as a fcience too fanciful and uncertain. I muft refer thee to another letter for an account of the Italic fect, and of PYTHAGORAS its great founder, fince this is already fwelled to a greater length than I intended it fhould. If I indulge too far the honor thou haft granted me of thy correfpondence, be perfuaded, generous ORSAMES, that it is not owing to any impertinent affectation of informing thee, or any want of refpect to thy quality, but to that early tafte I perceive in thee for ufeful literature, and my ardent defire

to ſhare in that rational plan of education which thou haſt laid down, of blending the elegant accompliſhments of Grecian arts with the manly ſeverities of the ancient diſcipline of Perſia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XXVIII.

GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER. *From* Ecbatana.

THE news of PERICLES's removal from public buſineſs gave me no great ſurpriſe. I know how precarious great honors are, and wonder moſt that he has ſo long maintained an authority, which the envious great and the lawleſs multitude have agreed to call tyrannical. The Greeks continue to anſwer the prayer of XERXES, by diſgracing the moſt worthy citizens; and I wiſh the reſentment of PERICLES would throw him into the intereſts of Perſia, where he would be received with no leſs honor than his great predeceſſor THEMISTOCLES.

The king ſent to intercede with SITALCES, that the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors might proceed to this court; but they were already delivered up to the Athenians, at the requeſt of his ſon SADOCUS, who has requited, by an act of treachery, the honor they did him laſt year of making him free of Athens. He may wiſh hereafter that ſo trifling a privilege had given place to the opportunity of doing a grateful act to the lord of Aſia.

I am under no leſs apprehenſion than yourſelf for the lives of thoſe men, at a time when the ſtates are ſo exaſperated againſt each other. It might be well to inſinuate, that violent meaſures would confirm ARTAXERXES the enemy of Athens, already ſufficiently irritated by their conduct. The ambaſſadors deſigned for Perſia are indeed Peloponneſians, and they may plead the reaſonableneſs of taking all advantages of an enemy; yet prudence and their misfortunes might teach them that they have no need of a new and more powerful one. At ſuch a juncture, if they had receded a little from their pretenſions, the courteſy would not have been miſplaced; for we truſt, that it is already in the hands of our monarch to determine the ſucceſs to either party, and perhaps to reap the fruit of the war. I wiſh it were poſſible thou couldſt put on the character of ambaſſador for one day, and aſk the council of Athens, whether they were determined to make ARTAXERXES their foe? Methinks I ſee them confounded for an anſwer. Strait a rumor ſpreads among the populace, that the Perſian muſt be appeaſed: they aſſemble in a tumultuous manner, and demand the Peloponneſians of their magiſtrates, and ſend them honorably attended to the court of Perſia. But I leave it to your diſcretion to uſe ſuch means as may ſeem moſt effectual to preſerve them. Your diſtance from the city gives me little proſpect of ſucceſs; and I am not ſuch an enemy to Perſia, as to think their redemption an equivalent for the hazard of your life. Keep your ſtation. I ſend you no command from

the king, of which he requires a ſtricter obſervance, than that you conſult your ſafety. Farewel.

H.

LETTER XXIX.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Thebes.

HAVING in a former letter mentioned to thee, CLEANDER, the hieroglyphical inſcriptions of the famed Hermetic pillars in this country, I will here endeavour to give thee ſome general idea of the nature and conſtruction of this myſtic character. The Ægyptians, ever ſince the age of their renowned HERMES or TAAUTUS, have given much, it is ſaid, into the humor of repreſenting their thoughts to each other in a way of emblem or ſenſible imagery; a kind of expreſſion, thou wilt obſerve, which addreſſes itſelf to the eyes, inſtead of the hearing, and which ſeems indeed to have this advantage, at firſt thought, of the method of ſpeaking by ſounds; that whereas words are merely arbitrary ſubſtitutes of the ideas they are uſed for, the characters of this picture-language have a ſort of natural ſignificancy in them, an aptneſs of themſelves to convey their particular meaning. The firſt principles of the art I am ſpeaking of (which, from being much uſed in the *ſacra* of this country, paſſes here under the general name of hieroglyphics) are

laid in certain obſervable analogies, relations, or correſpondencies of the particular forms, actions, or qualities of animals, to certain facts in nature, morals, or hiſtory. From whence it is eaſy to infer, that the prime elements, or radical words, if one may call them ſo, in this emblematical language, were, as in all other languages, not very numerous; and that the copiouſneſs it is now poſſeſſed of has been the work of time and ſucceſſive improvement: for a foundation once eſtabliſhed in ſome few of the ſimpler and more obvious analogies above hinted at, the ſuperſtructure, thou wilt readily conceive, would be capable of infinite enlargement, as more nice and critical obſervations in the kind ſhould bring in new materials for this purpoſe. It has doubtleſs been with this view, that the Ægyptians have ever been remarkable for beſtowing a more than ordinary attention upon the various particularities of their country animals. And the fruit of their application this way abundantly ſhows itſelf in that large fund of ſymbols they have in uſe, for treating almoſt every ſubject one can think of. To ſignify, for example, the introduction of tillage and agriculture among them by the beneficent OSIRIS, one of their gods, whom they boaſt to have reigned in this country, they deſcribe an ox's head; the animal made uſe of by him, as it has been ever ſince, in ploughing their lands. When they would repreſent any perſon with a numerous offspring, they exhibit the figure of a crocodile; an animal, it ſeems, remarkable

with them for its prolific and fruitful quality. Thus again, the goat being obſerved to be a more than ordinary ſalacious and wanton animal, is for this reaſon made the Ægyptian emblem of animal generation at large; as is the hawk and the ſerpent of the vital principle in animal bodies, from their being themſelves ſuppoſed to partake, in an eminent degree, of that ether or ſpirit in which it is imagined life conſiſts. When they would expreſs the moon, they do it under the figure of an ape, which they obſerve to have a kind of ſympathy with this divine luminary; inaſmuch as, at the time of the new moon, the males of this ſpecies become blind, refuſe their uſual food, and ſhow evident tokens of ſorrow for the then total diſappearance of the moon's light; the females, at the ſame ſeaſon, beſides what happens to them in common with the males, ſuffering, it is remarked, a periodical infirmity of their own. The ſame animal is moreover the Ægyptian mark of the two equinoxes; it being found at each of theſe to have a regular diſcharge of urine once every hour, during the whole four-and-twenty. It were endleſs to enlarge upon this article, CLEANDER; and there is the leſs reaſon for it, as the particulars I have already mentioned may ſuffice to anſwer my intention in this letter. I think it not improbable, that the want of a regular alphabet firſt introduced this hieroglyphical language into Ægypt. But the prieſthood here, who loſe no opportunity to give the world an advantageous idea of their own order, have ſince found it extremely uſeful,

in eſtabliſhing that high reputation they are in for wiſdom of every kind; inaſmuch as, being perfect maſters of human nature, they have not failed to practiſe upon that prevailing foible of it, the thinking ſecrecy a ſure token of importance, by contriving this, amongſt other methods, to perplex the avenues to that knowledge they are poſſeſſed of, in order to raiſe the idea and enhance the credit of it. Adieu.

O.

LETTER XXX.

Hydaspes *to* Cleander.

The court, which of late years has paſſed its winters at Suſa, is now removed to ſpend this at Babylon; and though the pleaſure of ſeeing ſo celebrated a city, and enjoying the ſpacious and well-cultivated country which lies round it, may have induced the king to change, for a time, the uſual ſeat of his reſidence, yet I believe policy has ſome part in the reſolution. For as Babylon was once the metropolis of a powerful empire, where the court of the Aſſyrian monarchs was conſtantly held, it is not without reluctance that the inhabitants ſubmit to a foreign yoke, and from being always honored with the preſence of kings, and graced with privileges, are now burdened with taxes for the ſupport of their conquerors, and ruled by governors. Our monarch has rendered himſelf very acceptable here, by remitting part

of the tribute, which this province paid to his predeceſſors, and receiving with the utmoſt affability the ſatraps of the country, who came upon his arrival to proſtrate themſelves at his feet. He has been willing that they ſhould partake of all the diverſions of his court, and diſmiſſes none whoſe merits are conſpicuous, without ſome mark of diſtinction. Is not a prince worthy to poſſeſs the empire of the Eaſt, who like him exerts his abſolute power for the good of his ſubjects; who travels through the different parts of his dominions, not merely to diſplay the magnificence of his court, or to take a view of the outward face of the country, but to redreſs the complaints of his people, to attach to his intereſt by perſonal favors thoſe whom duty has already ſubjected to his authority, and to learn to know and reward merit, not by the recommendation of his miniſters, but by his own obſervation? But I muſt break off this moralizing diſcourſe, which ſo little beſits a courtier; and to afford thee materials for thy amuſement as well as reflection, ſhall relate a ſurpriſing adventure which happened a few days ago at the palace. Thou muſt have heard that ARTABAZUS, the governor of Babylon, was lieutenant, to MARDONIUS at the battle of Platea, and afterwards put himſelf at the head of the Perſian forces who remained, and brought them back to Aſia, after a laborious and hazardous march. In the hurry of this confuſed retreat his wife, who followed him in the expedition, died of fatigue and grief; and his daughter, then an infant, was carried off by a party of

Greeks, who beat up one of his quarters in the night, and was never ſince heard of. In an entertainment lately performed at the palace a new dance was introduced, in which a beautiful ſlave of the queen's diſtinguiſhed herſelf to the admiration of every body, and put ſeveral upon inquiring who ſhe was. She had been bought two days before of a merchant of Cyprus, then at Babylon, who ſaid ſhe was ſold to him by an Athenian ſoldier, who took her priſoner from the Perſians not long after the action at Platea. This being told ARTABAZUS, he ſent for the merchant, and upon comparing his account with other circumſtances of this unfortunate accident which he recollected himſelf; upon ſeeing the rich ornaments which were taken with her, and found to be thoſe with which the infant was adorned at the very time of her being loſt; and upon examining the whole affair, the young ſlave was diſcovered to be the daughter of ARTABAZUS, ſent him, as it were providentially, for the joy and ſupport of his declining years, and to crown the ſucceſs which had generally attended him in public, with this laſt inſtance of domeſtic felicity.

The ſatisfaction ariſing from this happy event has been heightened by the victory which ARTYPHIUS has gained over the Caduſians. That hardy people having taken a rich booty, were attacked in their retreat, and wholly routed. ARTYPHIUS purſued his advantage, marched his army into their country, and forced them to ſubmit to a tribute, and to deliver up hoſtages. He is now upon his return, and highly commended

for the conduct and valor he has ſhown in this expedition. The troops which accompanied him were ſome of the veterans who had fought under MEGABYZUS in Ægypt. An ambaſſador is going to the king of the Scythians, to demand ſatisfaction for the ravages that nation have committed on our frontier provinces; and ſoon after him, DARIUS, the king's third ſon, will ſet out for the government of Hyrcania, which is lately beſtowed on him. The revolution occaſioned in the Athenian affairs by the removal of PERICLES, adds much to the curioſity with which we liſten after Grecian news. It is thought ſurpriſing, that no action of importance, either by ſea or land, has yet happened, though the war has now laſted near two years. Notwithſtanding SITALCES has delivered up the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors, an agent from Lacedæmon, it is ſaid, will ſhortly arrive here.

I tranſmit to thee by this meſſenger 5000 darics, which MEGABYZUS deſires thou wouldſt lay out for him in Grecian curioſities. If thou couldſt procure him any fine pieces of ſculpture, wrought by the hand of PHIDIAS, or ſome pictures finiſhed by the pencil of ZEUXIS, it would be highly acceptable. When thou haſt made theſe purchaſes, thou mayſt convey them to thy brother at Epheſus, who has it in charge to ſend them to him. Farewel.

From Babylon. P.

LETTER

LETTER XXXI.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Salamis.

OUR expectations, noble ſcribe, that the lives of the ambaſſadors would be endangered, have proved too well grounded; and it gives me uneaſineſs even to relate an action which the Athenians have ſhown no regret in committing. The Peloponneſian ambaſſadors were thrown into priſon immediately upon their arrival, and a few days after put to death by a decree of the people, and their bodies caſt into pits without the rites of burial; neither could the privileges of their character preſerve them from the cruelty of the one, nor the common ties of humanity ſecure to them the decent ceremony of the other. As an additional circumſtance of hardſhip, I am told, that though they earneſtly deſired to be heard before ſentence was paſſed, they could not obtain a requeſt never known to be denied to the greateſt criminals. The Athenians plead in their excuſe, that they only retaliate upon the Lacedæmonians, who acted in the ſame barbarous manner, with regard to ſome merchants of Athens, whoſe veſſels they ſeized, trading upon the coaſt of Peloponneſus. But this will not, in any degree, juſtify a violation of the ſacred rights of public miniſters; and I rather take their reſentment againſt the Lacedæmonians, for their late refuſal of peace, their hatred of ARISTEUS, for the ſhare he had in the revolt

of their towns in Thrace, and perhaps the inſtigations of thoſe who deſire a continuance of the war, to be the true cauſes of ſo extraordinary a proceeding. However, I cannot help obſerving, that while both parties expreſs their enmity to each other, not by fair hoſtilities, or honorable contentions for the prize of national bravery, but by throwing off the principles of humanity, and committing acts of cruelty againſt thoſe who are unable to defend themſelves; the name of Barbarians, with which they have injuriouſly branded the reſt of mankind, may with much more propriety be retorted on themſelves. It was impoſſible for me, who have no public character, to have uſed any intereſt in favor of theſe miſerable men; I ſhould have expoſed my own life to the ſuſpicions of the populace, with whom, in their preſent rage, or rather madneſs, no perſuaſions, drawn either from intereſt or compaſſion, would have any weight.

The ſpirits of this people are much elated with the news lately arrived of the ſurrender of Potidea, which has held out two years, and is now given up to the Athenian generals, on conditions very favorable to the inhabitants, who are permitted to retire with part of their effects to Chalcis. The Athenians blame their generals for granting theſe terms; and maintain, that want of proviſions, and failure of relief, would have forced the place to ſurrender at diſcretion. But they certainly acted with judgement; for the army had ſuffered much, by lying in the field during the inclemencies of

a Thracian winter, and the expenſes of the ſiege amounted already to 2000 talents.

The plague, I hear, daily decreaſes at Athens, which will give me an opportunity of removing my ſtation, and making inquiries myſelf on the ſcene of action, inſtead of hearkening to the reports of others at a diſtance from it. I ſhall there inquire further into the truth of an intelligence I lately received, that the diſpoſitions of the people are very favorable towards PERICLES; and that his friends are in great hopes he will ſhortly recover his former authority, which, conſidering the ſudden revolutions of popular governments, and the ſuperior talents of PERICLES, would not much ſurpriſe me. May the mighty OROMASDES, potent lord, preſerve the throne of CYRUS from the rude attacks of an unreſtrained multitude, the want of able ſupporters, and the union of the Greeks!

LETTER XXXII.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Thebes *in* Ægypt.

AFTER the account which my laſt letter gave thee, CLEANDER, of the nature and genius of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics, I would in this proceed to conſider them in a very remarkable conſequence they have had in the religious œconomy of this country; the worſhip, I mean, which thou haſt ſo often heard is every

where paid in it to ſome or other of its home-bred animals. This is indeed ſo ſtriking an article among the many national peculiarities of this people, that it would be an unpardonable want of curioſity in a foreigner, not to inquire a little into the reaſons upon which it is founded; and the ſtate of the caſe I take in few words to be this: that the ſeveral animals now worſhipped in Ægypt, having been at firſt applied as parts of a religious language, in the way of emblem, already deſcribed to thee, to expreſs the natures and attributes of Ægyptian gods, have by time acquired ſuch a degree of ſacredneſs, as to be themſelves added to the number of them. The temples here, of which there are great numbers, are all of them furniſhed with ſome animal repreſentation; and the ſtriking magnificence of their outſide ſtructure forms, I have often thought, a ridiculous contraſt to the contemptible meanneſs of the ſacred inhabitant within; which is, perhaps, a cat, an ape, or an ibis, the appropriated divinity of the particular pile. The regard paid by the Ægyptians to the ſeveral ſpecies of animals, whoſe figures conſtitute this ſyſtem of religious emblemry, is really incredible but to an eye-witneſs of it. They have their guardians or attendants appointed them by public authority, who are to provide them their diet and other accommodations; an office not eſteemed unworthy perſons of conſiderable rank, and which, as it is conducted, is in itſelf a mattter of no ſmall expenſe, as well as delicacy. The executors of this truſt are diſtinguiſhed by certain inſignia proper to their order; and in

conſequence hereof are entitled to very particular marks of reſpect and reverence from all, who either with deſign or by accident come in their way. In ſome inſtances, I am told, to have killed one of theſe conſecrated animals, though ever ſo much by hazard, is capital without remiſſion; and as often as they die of themſelves, either by ſickneſs or old age, the whole proviſion which is lodged in the houſe where the death happens, is rendered unlawful to be made uſe of, and the funeral is performed with much ceremony, and attended with as great appearances of ſorrow as we ſhould beſtow upon that of our neareſt kindred, or moſt endeared friends. After what I have obſerved to thee, CLEANDER, of the politic vanity of the prieſthood in this country, thou wilt not wonder if ſome of theſe conſecrations are built upon reaſons ſo abſtruſe and recondite, as, however they may afford ſome kind of apology for this practice to the learned, can, I am ſure, adminiſter none to the vulgar, as lying much out of the reach of common apprehenſion. And to ſay the truth, [beſides that, as a Perſian, I have no great opinion of temples in general, which, whilſt they give a ſplendor and majeſty to the outſide face of religion, ſeem to me calculated to fully the inward purity of it, as ſuggeſting too confined an idea of the powers and preſence of the gods,] I have ſtill a much greater difficulty with myſelf to conceive, amidſt all thoſe refined pretences which are here offered for this emblem worſhip, that the figure of a cat or an ape can be, in any regard, a fit repreſentative

of thoſe adorable and moſt excellent natures, when, in the judgment of our wiſe and venerable Magi, not even the human form itſelf is allowed to be ſuch. Adieu.

O.

LETTER XXXIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

IT is with pleaſure that I inform thee, noble ſatrap, of my return to Athens, where the plague is almoſt entirely ceaſed, though the ravages it has made, the deſolation it has cauſed in the moſt conſiderable families, and the weak and diſpirited turn it has given to the affairs of this ſtate in general, will be felt long after all ſymptoms of infection have diſappeared.

A very extraordinary event juſt preceded my arrival, the reſtoration of PERICLES to his former authority. Shall I ſay the people have ſhown their good ſenſe, or their folly, by their conduct with regard to him? the one in placing him at the helm when conjunctures of difficulty and diſtreſs require a miniſter of experience and abilities; the other, by permitting their natural fickleneſs to appear ſo ſtrongly by ſuch a total change of their ſentiments, as now to reverence him as their protector and leader, whom, but a few months ago, they gave up with ignominy to the

accuſations of his enemies, and thought guilty of the higheſt miſdemeanors.

PERICLES appeared wholly engaged in the domeſtic concerns of a private life, and was in the height of his grief for the loſs of PARALUS, the laſt of his legitimate children, when they invited him to accept his former office of general. ALCIBIADES and his other friends, whoſe intrigues contributed not a little to this ſudden revolution, perſuaded him to come abroad and ſhow himſelf to the people. They received him with great marks of affection and eſteem, and at their requeſt he has reſumed the adminiſtration of their affairs. His power is already ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that he has procured the abrogation of a law he was himſelf the author of, which enacted, that none were to be deemed citizens of Athens, but thoſe whoſe father and mother were both Athenians. At the time it paſſed, five thouſand Athenians loſt their liberty for want of the qualification which it required, and were ſold for ſlaves. The only intent of its preſent repeal is, that he may be allowed to enrol his natural ſon in the regiſter of his tribe by his own name. Thus has PERICLES triumphed over the ſhort-lived inſults of his enemies; and not only fixed the natural inconſtancy of the Athenians in his favor, but even riſen from his fall with redoubled vigor; a circumſtance in which, either through his ſuperior fortune or ſuperior addreſs, he is yet unrivalled by the greateſt of his predeceſſors, who have conducted the counſels of this republic. Thou mayeſt eaſily imagine, potent miniſter,

that my desire to use every method that could possibly promote the service of ARTAXERXES, and a curiosity very natural in such cases to be known to so eminent a person, would induce me to omit no opportunity of being introduced to PERICLES. My patron and friend PHILEMON, who, from his long experience in business, and his singular humanity, has acquired the veneration and love of the whole city, and particularly of PERICLES, though he has sometimes opposed his measures, has done me that kind office. I was presented to him as a native of Ephesus, who having travelled over a great part of the East, and acquired some knowledge of its customs and policies, and some taste also for Grecian literature, was desirous to spend the remainder of my life under the mild and just government of Athens. PERICLES received me with his usual affability; and asked me whether I exercised any employment here? I told him (what I always answer to such a question) that my brother, who was a merchant of Ephesus, and had great correspondence at Athens, transacted much of his business through my hands, but that the chief reason of my settling in this place was to enjoy the happiness of obeying the excellent laws of so wise a state, and to converse with the inhabitants of a city the most famed in Greece for learning and politeness. He seemed pleased with my answer, and inquired into several particulars relating to the manners of Asia, the strength and riches of Persia, and the characters of the ministers of the sublime court. I found

him no ſtranger to the ſhining qualities of our monarch, or the great talents of MEGABYZUS, and thyſelf. I am not without hopes that my being admitted into the acquaintance of PERICLES may furniſh me with opportunities of acquiring a ſtill further knowledge of his character, deſigns, and the maxims of his politics. Preparations are going on here for the next year's campaign; twenty galleys are ready to ſail to Naupactus, which is a port very advantageouſly ſituated for interrupting the Corinthian navigation, and obſerving the motions of their fleet. The admiral, whoſe name is PHORMIO, is in ſuch repute for his valor and conduct, that the public choſe to pay his debts out of the treaſury, rather than be deprived of his ſervice. And here it may not be improper to lay before thee a ſhort account of the method uſed at Athens in ſetting forth their naval equipments. It is ſomething particular, and will give thee an idea of the military regulations of this people, as thou haſt already had of their civil. The expenſes of theſe preparations are not laid upon the people in general, but diſcharged by a claſs of the richeſt citizens, taken out of every tribe: Sixteen are allotted to fit out each trirem. Any citizen, who is elected trierarch, or commander of a galley, is obliged to accept the office, unleſs he can produce another citizen richer than himſelf. The former muſt likewiſe propoſe to change eſtates with the other, who is forced to accept the propoſal, under the penalty of fitting out the galley himſelf. Thou mayeſt eaſily imagine that this law (to

which the poorer ſort, who are always the bulk of a nation, are ſtrongly attached) gives occaſion to frequent conteſts, delays, and evaſions; and before they can be accommodated, the ſeaſon for action is ſometimes loſt. Far different are the awful mandates of the great king, which are no ſooner deſigned, than executed with the utmoſt vigor. They are ſwift and irreſiſtible, like the piercing lightning ſhot from the hand of OROMASDES: Aſia trembles at them, and confeſſes its lawful ſovereign.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XXXIV.

CLEANDER *to* OTANES.

SHORTLY after my arrival and ſettlement in this city, I gave thee, potent lord, an account of its extent and magnificence in general. Having ſince had opportunity of ſurveying its parts more exactly, I proceed now to give thee a fuller and more particular deſcription of them; and in doing this I ſhall chuſe to begin, where a ſtranger moſt naturally would, at the place of his landing, the port. This indeed conſiſts of two parts, the Piræus and Phalerus, which together are the great emporium of trade, and the magazine of all their naval ſtores. Not that even theſe are without their ornaments; for in this we meet with the ſeveral temples of JUPITER, MINERVA, and CERES, and altars to the UNKNOWN GODS, a remarkable inſtance

of the great ſuperſtition, and, at the ſame time, the little foundation there is for it among this people. In the other, beſides ſeveral temples, there is a very neat portico, in which is a picture of THEMISTOCLES, by whoſe advice this port was converted from a court of judicature to what it now is, and near to it his ſepulchre alſo; his citizens being willing to allow him a place among them when dead, which they refuſed him while alive, though whether he is really interred here or no is very uncertain. In the paſſage from hence towards the city are one or two porticos, though of no great name, till you come to the Ceramicus, a quarter ſo called from a hero of that name, as ſome ſay, though others give it a much leſs noble derivation; and in this are an infinite number of temples, theatres, porticos, and ſtatues. Of the temples, the moſt remarkable is that ſacred to JUPITER THE DELIVERER, and built upon the expulſion of the Perſians; and cloſe by it is a noble portico, in which are painted the twelve ſuperior deities, as they are called here, and a figure of THESEUS, together with a repreſentation of that form of government which prevails here, *viz.* democracy, conſiſting of a number of ſmaller figures ſo diſpoſed as to form one uniform body, adorned with a crown and other enſigns of authority. Near this a very fine ſtatue of APOLLO ALEXIKAKOS is juſt now erecting, as a token of their gratitude to him, for having freed them from the late terrible peſtilence. At ſome diſtance from hence is the court, where the great council of five hundred aſſemble,

which is very properly adorned with the repreſentation of JUPITER THE COUNSELLOR; and on one hand of this, another figure of the collective body of the people; on the other, the venerable portraits of DRACO, SOLON, and their legiſlators, than which nothing can be more auguſt, eſpecially as they are finiſhed by the maſterly hand of TIMANTHUS. Near this is a vaſt collection of ſtatues, ſome of their gods, others of their old kings and heroes; and yet numerous as they are, they aver, that they are now far ſhort of what they were before the ſacking of the city by XERXES, who deſtroyed or carried away moſt of the beſt. It is in this quarter that one of the greateſt curioſities in the city is found; namely, a copious ſpring of freſh water which is the only one in it; and cloſe by it is a temple, dedicated to the Eleuſinian CERES, too ſacred to be approached by any, but thoſe who have been initiated into her venerable myſteries; ſo I can give no account of what it contains. Before it ſtands an ox very finely carved, and the ſtatue of a man called EPIMENIDES, whom they report to have ſlept forty years together in a cave, and at the end of that term to have appeared, to the infinite amazement of himſelf as well as friends. Near it is a ſtatue of the heavenly VENUS done by PHIDIAS, in ſo exquiſite a manner and taſte, that it may ſerve to convince poſterity of the happy genius of this great maſter, and be an inimitable ſpecimen of the productions and workmanſhip of this age.

A little above the Ceramicus is the famous Portico called Pœcile, from the variety of admirable paintings with which it is adorned. It is here that ſome of the greateſt maſters in this art have employed all their ſkill; the ſubjects, as well as the finiſhing of them, having given a fine opportunity of ſhowing the extent of it. In the middle is the battle of THESEUS with the Amazons; on one ſide the burning of Troy, with the portraits of their chief leaders in that famous expedition; and on the other, a large and full repreſentation of the battle of Marathon, ſo fatal to the Perſian power, and ſo glorious to this city. • In this thou wilt imagine the painter would omit no circumſtance of doing honor to his country, or diſcredit to ours: the rout of our monarch's troops is too well and too livelily expreſſed, not to raiſe the utmoſt concern and indignation in the faithful CLEANDER's breaſt; and though I am tempted by the fineneſs of the performance to ſpeak of it more fully, as well as I was to ſurvey it more cloſely, yet I forbear to dwell upon a ſubject that muſt be equally diſagreeable to us both. Before it ſtands a group of ſtatues of their chief leaders and lawgivers; among whom SOLON, as he deſerves, is in a more eminent and diſtinguiſhed place; and at a little diſtance, my old friend PHILEMON pointed to an altar, which he ſaid was the only one in all Greece dedicated to Compaſſion; inſinuating, like a true Athenian, the peculiar humanity on which they ſo much value themſelves. Near this (beſides the famous temple of THESEUS, CASTOR, *etc.*

which I mentioned in my laſt) is the court called Prytaneum, where the original laws of SOLON are depoſited, and kept with the utmoſt care; and a temple ſo ancient as to boaſt of DEUCALION, the great reſtorer of mankind, as they ſay, after a deluge, for its founder. Not far from hence is a part of the city called the Gardens; and a ſtreet named the Tripods, where are two fine temples, one of BACCHUS, the other of ÆSCULAPIUS, both remarkable for ſeveral exquiſite paintings, repreſenting the extraordinary actions of the one, and cures of the other. From hence lies the aſcent, by marble ſteps, to the citadel or upper city, of which, and the famous Parthenion in it, I gave ſome deſcription in my former letter; and to give a minute and full one would exceed the limits of this. The great number of temples, and the ſtill greater of ſtatues and pictures, are not to be conceived: thoſe of MINERVA, as being the guardian and protectreſs of the city, ſtrike the eye in every part of it, but here in a particular manner. Here the conteſt between her and NEPTUNE is ſet forth in more than one place; and it is here that a ſtatue of her in braſs, formed out of the ſpoils taken at Marathon, is placed, of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, as to be a mark for ſhips ſailing at great diſtance. Beſide theſe appropriated to the gods and heroes, I ſhould inform thee, that there are ſeveral other public buildings, deſigned for places of exerciſe and entertainment. Their theatres in particular grow daily more and more ſplendid, and their gymnaſia are built with ſo much grandeur

and magnificence, as to appear almoſt like towns. And a little way from the city is another Ceramicus, deſigned and ſet apart for the burying-place of all thoſe who have done ſervice to their country by their lives, or honor to it by their deaths; near which is an encloſure and plantation called the Academy, to which the philoſophers and men of letters (here a large tribe) daily reſort, and entertain themſelves or their diſciples with diſquiſitions and debates upon all points of ſcience. In a word, it were endleſs to recite all the ſtructures and curioſities with which this city abounds; and yet amidſt all this pomp, and among the infinite number of buildings, it may ſeem wonderful, that there are none but what are in honor to their gods and benefactors, or for public uſe. They are as frugal in what are deſigned for their own ſervice, as they are expenſive in theſe. They build for the credit of public, and not for private luxury; and if immortal natures could receive any ſatisfaction from the beauty and grandeur of the ſtructures dedicated to them, Athens would be no leſs the habitation of the gods, than they boaſt it to be of humanity and politeneſs. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XXXV.

CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS.

I HAVE made it my buſineſs, ſage lord, to inquire into the lives and characters of ſuch Athenians, whether living or dead, as are moſt remarkable for the ſervices they have done their own country, or the miſchiefs they have done ours; and ſend thee ſome commentaries of them encloſed. In peruſing theſe, thou wilt ſoon be convinced that it was not chance or ill-fortune which the Perſians are to blame for their defeats; when thou ſhalt learn, and by ſo many inſtances be convinced of the reſolute but cool courage of MILTIADES, the ſteady inflexible integrity of ARISTIDES, the engaging virtues and humane deportment of CIMON; (I mention not THEMISTOCLES, as thou wert no ſtranger to his abilities while in the ſervice of our great monarch;) when thou ſhalt conſider the great and elevated ſoul of PERICLES, directing all his care and thought, his whole life and fortune, to the ſervice of his country, impatient indeed of rivals, not becauſe he fears their eclipſing him, but that, conſcious of his own ſufficiency and upright intentions, he is unwilling to have any obſtacles to controul him in his great deſigns: I ſay, when thou ſhalt conſider all theſe circumſtances, thou wilt be no longer ſurpriſed that under ſuch powerful conductors, ſo ſmall a ſtate ſhould have ſo long withſtood and baffled the repeated attacks

attacks of the moſt formidable empire in the world. Nay, were it not for the counterpoiſe that theſe heroes have in the perverſeneſs and folly, the fickleneſs and reſentment of thoſe with whom they have to do, I ſhould not be without apprehenſion, that danger might approach even the throne of CYRUS. May the GREEKS continue to fight our battles by their unſeaſonable diſſenſions; and while they have their CLEONS and their TOLMIDES's, the deſigns of even a PERICLES muſt ever prove as abortive as they lately did, when he convened all the ſtates of Greece, and employed the utmoſt power of his eloquence, to engage them in a league againſt the great king, but to no purpoſe. But here I pauſe, and my ſoul even ſhudders, while I recite to thee a particular concerning THEMISTOCLES, little known, and therefore not inſerted among the relations which I ſend thee. It ſeems, that ſhortly after obtaining that fatal victory over the Perſians, (when the preſence of XERXES added to his diſgrace,) in conjunction with, and by the aſſiſtance of the confederated fleet of all their allies, he made a propoſal to ARISTIDES, (who was commiſſioned by the city to receive and judge of it privately,) to fall on and deſtroy that very fleet, in order to render Athens abſolute at ſea. ARISTIDES reported, that nothing indeed could be more advantageous to, or more promote the power of the commonwealth, than THEMISTOCLES's propoſal; but withal, that it would be the moſt unjuſt thing in the world to execute it. On this it was dropped, and THEMISTOCLES's

friends ſay, that it was a high love and regard for his country, which alone put him on a deſign, which his ſoul otherwiſe would have abhorred. But can a love of one's country, or any other conſideration, excuſe ſuch horrible perfidy? No, potent ſatrap, we are no longer men, when we ſhake off the common principles of humanity; ſuch deſperate deſigns ſpeak a mind not to be controuled by any faith or by any ties; and he who could ſo baſely think of ſacrificing his friends and allies to his country, would not ſcruple to ſacrifice even that country to his own intereſt or reſentments. Adieu.

From Athens. R.

End of the ſecond Year of the Peloponneſian War.

A. M. 3575. *Fourth Year of the* 87*th Olympiad.*
The third Year of the Peloponneſian War.

LETTER XXXVI.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

THE danger which threatens Athens makes its approaches by ſlow but ſure ſteps. The Peloponneſians have made no incurſion upon the territory of Attica; they ſeem bent upon reducing ſuch cities as are allied to their enemies, whereby they may be ſecured from their annoyance, and have a ſafe retreat even in an adverſary's country: they are now ſet down before Platæa, a city in firm alliance with this ſtate. ARCHIDAMUS the Lacedæmonian king, upon advancing toward the city, was addreſſed by deputation from the Platæans, who remonſtrated to him how unjuſtifiable the hoſtilities were which he was preparing, ſince the liberty and privileges of that city were conferred upon it by the unanimous voice of Greece, for their gallant behaviour in the Perſian war, and were in a particular manner confirmed by PAUSANIAS, the Lacedæmonian general, with a promiſe of inviolable ſecurity. ARCHIDAMUS made anſwer, that he had no objection to their pretenſions, provided they would join in reſcuing that common liberty

from the tyranny of Athens, which they had ſo bravely defended againſt the arms of Perſia; or at leaſt, that they would be neutral as to all hoſtilities, and give them the ſame amicable reception they would the Athenians; or if they pleaſed, they might intruſt him with the poſſeſſion of their city, which he would preſerve from the leaſt damage, and reſtore to them, with all its properties and immunities, at the concluſion of the war; and in the mean time, would contribute what might be ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. Anſwer was made to theſe propoſals, that they could not poſſibly yield to them, without acquainting the Athenians, who had their wives and children within their walls; and deſired a truce of three or four days for this purpoſe, which was accordingly allowed. The Platæan deputies were received here with expreſſions of the higheſt reſpect and affection, and aſſurance of fidelity to their engagements on the ſide of Athens, and were ſent back to the city with earneſt exhortations that no conceſſions might be made to their common enemy; which ſo far prevailed upon the Platæans, that they reſolved to anſwer them only from the walls.

Upon perceiving this, ARCHIDAMUS, (as though it were impious to aſſault a city yet under the protection of its gods,) after invoking the tutelar deity and guardian powers of Platæa to witneſs the juſtice of his whole conduct in the amicable terms he had offered, and the juſt vengeance he was going to execute for their refuſal, blocked up the city. The ſeveral

aſſaults he has made, though maintained with the utmoſt bravery, have proved unſucceſsful againſt the ſtratagems or reſolution with which the Platæans either evade or repulſe them; ſo that the event of this ſiege muſt be the ſubject of another letter.

If the Peloponneſians have been hitherto unſucceſsful at Platæa, the Athenians have been more ſo in an expedition lately made by their army in Thrace. Two thouſand heavy-armed men and two hundred horſe were ſent againſt the Chalcidians, under the joint command of three officers, XENOPHON and two others. Upon their arrival near Spartolum (a town of the enemy's) they found a faction within the walls ready to ſurrender and receive them as friends, but were oppoſed by a contrary party, who had in the interim ſent to beg ſuccour of the Olynthians, which accordingly came and engaged the Athenians near Spartolum. The Chalcidian and auxiliary heavy-armed ſoldiers were worſted, and fled into the town; but in another part of the action, their horſe and light-armed men routed thoſe of the Athenians. A reſerve in the town, being reinforced by another ſmall party from the Olynthians, made a freſh attack upon the Athenians; upon which they retreated to their baggage, and joined two companies left there. From hence they annoyed the enemy with their miſſive weapons, who gave ground, and the Athenians advanced forward, and they continued to retire. The Athenians, through the warmth of purſuit, being drawn out into an inconvenient ſituation,

the Chalcidian horſe attacked them, broke their ranks, and put them to flight. The three commanding officers and conſiderable part of the men are cut off, and the remnant of the defeated army took refuge in Pontidæa. I have ſent thee this ſhort account of the engagement, as it is brought by an expreſs juſt arrived from Thrace, not doubting but thou wilt have a more particular one by a nearer conveyance.

Thus do the foes of Perſia continue to waſte each other, and prevent, by their own animoſities, that vengeance which they have reaſon to dread from thy councils and the arms of ARTAXERXES. I know not whether the ſhame and loſs of this defeat will ſo much affect the minds of this people, as another loſs they are like to ſuſtain; I mean that of PERICLES himſelf, whoſe health ſenſibly decays, which, I am perſuaded, ought to be more dear to them than the lives of thouſands. The plague, which raged here ſo lately amongſt all the ranks of men, ſpared not PERICLES; that active miniſter ſtruggled with his diſtemper, without remitting any thing of his concern for the public. But, alas! how could a frail diſtempered body keep pace with ſuch a ſoul? its efforts are too ſtrong for the bands which united it; like a fierce lion in the toils, whoſe activity is reſtrained, it has almoſt burſt through its confinement, and will ſoon leave its unworthy concomitant, and fly to the abodes which are allotted to thoſe who have ſpent a life of toil and danger in the ſervice of their country.

From Athens. H.

LETTER XXXVII.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

[27] THOUGH thou art by extraction a Greek, yet I no more ſuſpect thy attachment to the religion, than our generous monarch does thy fidelity to the government, of Perſia. I know thou muſt alike diſapprove the unſteadineſs of thy country's polity and philoſophy. The ſcruples thou haſt imparted to me I receive as an inſtance of tenderneſs to our faith, which you wiſh to ſee purged of all doubts. But this cannot be, CLEANDER; the origin, power, and dealings of ARIMANIUS with the ſons of men are myſterious and unaccountable; they puzzle the ableſt ſpeculatiſt with gloomy apprehenſions and inexplicable difficulties; while the contemplation of OROMASDES refreſhes the ſoul with agreeable truths, and branches out into innumerable paths of delightful knowledge. Wonder not at this, and expect not to have all thy doubts removed concerning the nature of that evil one, whoſe beſt emblem is darkneſs; rather withdraw thy attention, and place it where it may ever be employed with delight and ſatisfaction. How ſweet is the view of an expanded lawn, or the azure field of heaven, after the eye has been fatigued with prying into a difficult ſcheme, or narrowly viewing ſome complex piece of machinery? Such is the

[27] Vide letter XX.

refreſhment the ſoul feels, when it turns from ARIMANIUS to beloved YESDAN [28], from confuſion to order, from diſcord to peace, from the author of ill to the ever-beauteous ſource of all good. I am unwilling to blame thy anxiety for man; yet thy knowledge of our holy prophet makes it blameable: he, one would think, ſhould have diſperſed the cloud that hung over us, when he debaſed the enemy of our nature, the vile ARIMANIUS, who aſpired to equal the higheſt, and had infuſed an opinion of his equality into the minds of deluded mortals. The enlightened ſage was conſcious of his uſurpation; he queſtioned his ſovereignty, he dethroned the impoſtor, and pronounced him impotent. From that hour a ſweet ſerenity poſſeſſed the heart of true believers; an ineſtimable ſolace from the aſſurance that we are altogether in the hands of benign YESDAN; a conſolation envied us by curſed AHRIMAN, which even now he labors to ſubvert, and leave thy boſom deſtitute of peace. But let not the dignity of OROMASDES ſuffer in thy opinion, who can as arbitrarily diſpoſe of ARIMANIUS, as of the meaneſt of his creatures; and will not fail to plunge him in everlaſting miſery, for his rebellious attempts to withdraw his adorers, when all the evil he delights in, and is permitted to exerciſe, will prey upon himſelf. Theſe are truths, CLEANDER, taught by the wiſdom of ZERDUSHT, and are a purer emblem

[28] YESDAN and AHRIMAN are two different names for OROMASDES and ARIMANIUS.

of the divinity, than the holy flame depoſited in the temple of BALCH. Reſt ſecure, that mankind, whom thou haſt ſuch a tender regard for, will find juſtice; every action will be weighed in the balance of thoſe angels, who guard that bridge which all mortals muſt paſs. Our own deeds will determine our happineſs, or doom us to the kingdom of AHRIMAN. What! ſayeſt thou! ſhall the wicked AHRIMAN be permitted to puniſh thoſe whom he has ſeduced? Doubt it not, CLEANDER; they who liſtened to his ſuggeſtions, will have their lot with him. To inflict ill, is an imperfection: the great OROMASDES cannot do it; thoſe therefore whoſe lives call for puniſhment, are aſſigned over to that being, who is the parent of all ill. OROMASDES only draws his protection from the unhappy wretches, and ARIMANIUS ſtrait perceives that his dominion is enlarged; he takes poſſeſſion of them, as quickly as darkneſs takes the place of light, when the lovely MITHRAS ſinks beneath the weſtern mountains.

Is it not enough that we know AHRIMAN is our foe? that he triumphs in our weakneſs? Is not this all the knowledge of him that is uſeful to us? Muſt we alſo inquire into his origin, and the reaſon of his power? Shall we not truſt the counſels of Heaven, unleſs we be made privy to them; which, like a dazzling beam of light upon the feeble eye-ball, would confound inſtead of enlightening the human mind? When we make any real progreſs in ſcience, how ſlow and ſhort are our ſteps? Yet we ſuffer ourſelves to graſp at immenſity,

to ſtretch the imagination beyond the limits of time, and inquire into the nature of eternity, whether good and evil be of equal duration, and whether in conſequence their power muſt be the ſame; whether, if AHRIMAN had a beginning, he can without impiety be numbered amongſt the works of OROMASDES; or whether the elements (from whence the frame of nature was called forth by the voice of OROMASDES) are not of a generative power, and in the confuſion of chaos in their utmoſt diſcord, during their moſt impure mixture and defilement, produced this evil one. A thouſand volumes have been employed on theſe ſubjects without ſucceſs; for ſome truths can never be diſcloſed, becauſe Providence has purpoſely thrown a veil over them. AHRIMAN cannot, ſay the learned, be part of the creation, becauſe he partakes nothing of the divine original. It is moſt certain, that hateful and malignant being, ſo repugnant to the deity in his will and actions, could not receive ſo deteſtable a form of nature from ſo pure a cauſe. It is not long ſince (as thou knoweſt) the thrice venerable OSTANES dwelt amongſt us, whoſe wiſdom, as grateful as a refreſhing dew to the parched earth, ſunk into the boſom of his thirſty hearers. He was deeply ſkilled in the invariable laws of nature, and judged ſoberly of the motives of Providence itſelf. He would often ſay, the elements, and whatever is merely of their compoſition, have the arbitrary will of YESDAN as a law; they are governed by neceſſity, and know no choice. Where God

has given reaſon, he has made the actions of that being free, and the reſult of reaſon; man therefore is free, and the moſt exalted heavenly ſpirits are free as man, and may chuſe amiſs like him, until by a ſteady perſeverance in right they render themſelves habitually good, and make a nearer approach to their Maker, who cannot do ill. Such a one as thoſe I can ſuppoſe the curſed AHRIMAN once to have been, a refined ſpirit full of excellence and beauty, when he aroſe from the creating hand of ORMASDES, fit to preſide over and regulate the frame of nature, and perhaps employed in that glorious ſervice, happy in the powers of his nature, in his eminence of ſtation, and the contemplation of his immortality. I can conceive him venturing even to doubt, whether there be a power ſufficient to diſſolve an immortal ſpirit like himſelf, (which brought into being ſeemed to have an independent title to eternity and happineſs,) and to miſapply reaſons, till he had engaged himſelf in a thought of revolting from God, and (which he ſtill ſo induſtriouſly aims at) of retaining in the worſhip of himſelf alone that part of the univerſe which he ſuperintended. The Almighty would not counteract his own wiſe decree; he would not interfere with freedom, which his all-ſeeing eye then perceived to be abuſed: but from that moment he withdrew his cheriſhing influence from the apoſtate ſpirit, who was as it were expelled that preſence which gladdens the univerſe. Immediately he ſhed all his excellence; his comelineſs fell from him, and he

abhorred his own deformities, but much more all that was fair and good, which could upbraid him with the glory he had forfeited, and his preſent execrable lot. The wicked conceptions he had indulged himſelf in were now unreſtrained, and the ſole good he could propoſe was the gratification of himſelf in ill.

Mayſt thou, CLEANDER, find arguments herein to appeaſe thy doubts, and juſtify to thyſelf the ways of Providence, ſo as to look with indifference on the dangers to which the nature of thy employment ſubjects thee; and if they ſhould take hold of thee, to bear thy fate with leſs concern than we, who know thee, muſt bear the report. Adieu.

From Balch in Bactria. H.

LETTER XXXVIII.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES.

I HAVE now found leiſure, noble ORSAMES, to complete my deſign of giving thee a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of philoſophy in Greece; and however imperfect the execution of it proves, let me venture to hope, that by taking my ſhare in this literary correſpondence, I make the moſt ſuitable return to the letters thou haſt lately favored me with, on the hieroglyphical learning of the Ægyptians; a ſubject on which, it might be eaſily imagined, that the acuteneſs of thy judgment, and the elegance of thy ſtyle, would both diſplay themſelves to advantage.

In our philoſophical progreſs we have already gone through the ſect of THALES, and are next to paſs through that of PYTHAGORAS. This celebrated philoſopher, born in the fourth year of the 43d olympiad, was (according to the general opinion) the ſon of a ſculptor at Samos; but the meanneſs of his parentage did not hinder him from being educated under one of the greateſt men of his time, PHERECYDES of Syrus, who firſt taught the immortality of the ſoul. Upon his death, PYTHAGORAS determined to trace ſcience as it were up to its fountain-head, and to ſupply himſelf with freſh ſtores of it in thoſe parts of the world where it ſeems to have ariſen. Animated by this deſire of knowledge, he ſubmitted to that tedious and diſcouraging courſe of preparatory diſcipline, which is neceſſary to obtain the benefit of Ægyptian initiation. When he had made himſelf a thorough maſter of the ſciences, which are cultivated in the ſacerdotal colleges of Thebes and Memphis, he purſued his travels through the Eaſt, converſing with the Magi and Indian Brachmans, and mixing their doctrines with thoſe he had learnt in Ægypt. He afterwards ſtudied the laws of MINOS at Crete, and thoſe of LYCURGUS at Sparta. Having ſpent the earlier part of his life in this uſeful manner, it is no wonder if he returned to Samos well acquainted with every thing curious, either in nature or art, in foreign countries, improved with all the advantages proceeding from a regular and laborious courſe of learned education, and adorned likewiſe with that knowledge of mankind

which is neceſſary to gain the aſcendant over them. PYTHAGORAS, accuſtomed to freedom, diſliked the arbitrary government of POLYCRATES, then tyrant of SAMOS, and retired to Crotona in Italy, where he opened a ſchool of philoſophy; and by the gravity and ſanctity of his manners, the importance of his tenets, and the peculiarity of his inſtitutions, ſoon ſpread his fame and influence over Italy and Greece. Among other projects, which he uſed to create reſpect and gain credit to his aſſertion, he concealed himſelf in a cave, and cauſed it to be reported that he was dead; then after ſome time he came abroad, and pretended that the intelligence which his friends gave him in his retreat, of the tranſactions of Crotona, was collected during his ſtay in the other world among the ſhades of the departed. He formed the diſciples, who came from all parts to put themſelves under his direction, into a kind of republic, where none were admitted till a ſevere probation had ſufficiently exerciſed their patience and docility. He afterwards divided them into the eſoteric and exoteric claſſes: to the former he intruſted the more ſublime and ſecret doctrines, to the latter the more ſimple and popular. This great man found himſelf able to unite the character of the legiſlator to that of the philoſopher, and to rival LYCURGUS and ORPHEUS in the one, PHERECYDES and THALES in the other; following, in this particular, the patterns ſet him by the Ægyptian prieſts, his inſtructors, who are not leſs celebrated for ſettling the civil than the religious œconomy of their nation.

In imitation of them, PYTHAGORAS gave laws to the republic of Crotona, and brought the inhabitants from a ſtate of luxury and diſſoluteneſs, to be eminent for order and ſobriety. Whilſt he lived, he was frequently conſulted by the neighbouring republics, as the compoſer of their differences, and the reformer of their manners; and ſince his death (which happened about the fourth year of the 70th olympiad, in a tumult raiſed againſt him by one CYLON) the adminiſtration of their affairs has generally been intruſted to ſome of his diſciples, amongſt whom, to produce the authority of their maſter for any aſſertion, is ſufficient to eſtabliſh the truth of it without further inquiry. The moſt celebrated of the philoſophical notions of PYTHAGORAS are thoſe concerning the nature of the Deity, the tranſmigration of ſouls into different bodies, (which he borrowed from the Brachmans,) and the ſyſtem of the world. As to the former, he held that God was diffuſed through all parts of the univerſe, like a kind of univerſal ſoul, pervading every particle of matter, and animating every living creature, from the moſt contemptible reptile to mankind themſelves, who ſhare a larger portion of the divine ſpirit. The metempſychoſis was founded on this maxim, that as the ſoul was of celeſtial origin, it could not be annihilated, and therefore, upon abandoning one body, neceſſarily removed into another; and frequently did penance for its former vicious inclinations, in the ſhape of a beaſt or an inſect, before it appeared again in that of a human creature.

He pretended that he had a particular faculty given him by the gods, of remembering the various bodies his own ſoul had paſſed through, and confounded cavillers by referring them to his own experience. In his ſyſtem of the world, the third doctrine which diſtinguiſhes his ſect, was a ſuppoſition, that the ſun was at reſt in the centre, and that the earth, the moon, and the other planets moved round it in different orbits. He pretended to have great ſkill in the myſterious properties of numbers, and held that ſome particular ones contained a peculiar force and ſignificancy; but whether theſe were his own whimſical fancies, or the refinements of his followers, I know not. It is certain he was a great geometrician, and inveſtigated a famous problem, which goes by his name; nor was he leſs ſkilled in the knowledge of nature, though I give no credit to the miraculous ſecrets he is ſuppoſed to be maſter of, neither will I tire thee by mentioning ſuch idle fables. This remarkable circumſtance may ſerve to conclude my account of him, that he was the firſt who called himſelf by the modeſt title *Philoſopher*, a lover of wiſdom only; whereas the ſages, his predeceſſors, ſtyled themſelves *Sophi*, the wiſe, arrogantly aſſuming a name, which the voice of mankind alone has a right to beſtow, and ſuppoſing they poſſeſſed what moſt of them all their lives purſued without obtaining.

There are few particulars known concerning ARISTÆUS, who ſucceeded him in the Italic School, or MNEMARCHUS his ſon, who had

next

next the honor to be advanced to his father's place. EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum is at preſent the moſt celebrated philoſopher of this ſect: there are ſeveral wonderful ſtories told of him. He ſeems, like PYTHAGORAS, to be an able naturaliſt, exalted into a magician by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious. According to him, the four elements are the firſt principles of all things, which continue in a perpetual flux and agitation, occaſioned by two different qualities, an uniting and a ſeparating one, which, as they prevail, vary the productions and effects of nature. DEMOCRITUS of Abdera (with whom I will conclude this account of the Greek philoſophy) has made himſelf famous, by maintaining the atomical ſyſtem; of which I ſhall only ſay, that it excludes the exiſtence of a Deity, and aſcribes the formation of the world to the fortuitous concourſe of unperiſhable atoms endowed with motion. The ſtrange humor and temper of the man is not unſuitable to ſo ſtrange a doctrine; he finds occaſion for laughter in every incident of human life; a funeral or a triumph, an aſſembly of ſenators or a company of fools contribute equally to his mirth; juſt the contrary character to HERACLITUS of Epheſus, who finds occaſion for tears in the ſame actions which excite laughter in the other. Theſe are the chief ſyſtems of philoſophy prevailing at preſent in Greece; and the profeſſors of them, while they outwardly conform to the religion of the country, are not only tolerated, but meet with public honors and encouragement. Thou mayſt eaſily judge from

the differences, which are allowed in the moſt important points, as the nature of the gods, the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate, that the religion of the Greeks conſiſts rather in a variety of ceremonies and rites, adapted to the particular powers and attributes of their local deities, than in points of belief, and eſtabliſhed doctrines in theological matters. Thou wilt likewiſe obſerve, on what unſtable foundations the knowledge of nature is at preſent built, whilſt every ſect frames a peculiar hypotheſis, (which has no relation, either in the general principles, or particular branches of it, to any of the reſt,) and then endeavours to balance the want of reaſons by the weight of numbers; as if the only point to be conſidered was, how to perplex mankind by the variety of oppoſite tenets, inſtead of enlightening their underſtandings; to overbear them by poſitive aſſertions, inſtead of convincing them by ſolid arguments. Till thoſe happy times ſhall come, when nature may perhaps deign to unfold her ſecrets to the ſearches of inquiſitive mortals, let us be contented to gratify our curioſity in theſe ſpeculations without expecting from them much real improvement in ſcience. Farewel.

P.

LETTER XXXIX.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

IT was not without reaſon, my HYDASPES, that when I promiſed thee an account of the Grecian poets and hiſtorians, I began with the characters of the former; ſince it is certainly true, (though it may ſeem a kind of paradox to ſay it,) that poetical fiction was univerſally received in the world before hiſtorical certainty. Hence is it, that fable has uſurped the place of truth, and, except tradition, we have ſcarcely a guide to conduct us in our ſearches through the darker and more myſterious ages of antiquity. The Grecian hiſtory is an eminent proof of this remark, ſince the earlieſt era of it is very differently ſtated by the different authors who have written upon it. Some ſay, there is nothing certain before the Trojan war; and that no compiler appeared, who was held in any degree of reputation, till above 500 years after it. Others there are, who date from the beginning of the olympiads; and many believe that period in the annals of time, which is ennobled by the reign of our great Cyrus the firſt, whoſe authority may be relied on. If thou ſhouldſt ſuggeſt to thyſelf, that perhaps the writers I am now ſpeaking of, lay no ſort of weight upon the credit of the oldeſt traditions, give me leave to add, that ſeveral have expoſed themſelves to the juſteſt cenſure by falling into the contrary extreme. Such as they who,

ſtudious of ſhowing their regard to the ancient reformers; deliverers, or benefactors of mankind, have overheated their imagination, quitted the common theatre of life, and ſoaring beyond the bounds of human probability, have loſt themſelves in thoſe clouds to which they have exalted their heroes. I ſhall not pretend to determine which of theſe are in the right; whether the latter, for fear of neglecting ſome hiſtorical facts, have not expreſſed too much dependance on the authority of the poets and tradition; or whether the former, for fear of giving into fiction and rhapſody, have not unreaſonably deſpiſed the authority of both. But this we may venture to pronounce, that in all the accounts which have been given us of the firſt times, it is out of the power of any one to decide where the fable concludes, or the truth begins.

I muſt own to thee, HYDASPES, I have often endeavoured to trace, in ſpeculation, the cauſe of that error and confuſion which prevails among the precarious traditions of the Greek antiquity: and though the ſearch has too commonly ended in refinement, yet the very mention of it at preſent invites me to put down thoſe conjectures in writing, which have long exerciſed my thoughts in private.

In former ages, the Grecians are repreſented as ſavage and illiterate, poſſeſſed of no public annals or records, which alone can aſcertain the truth of hiſtorical facts, relying barely on traditional relations, unpractiſed in all the neceſſary arts of life and government. After

ſome centuries it appears, that they received the culture of humanity from Phœnician and Ægyptian colonies; by the firſt of whom they were inſtructed in trade, navigation, and the uſe of letters; by the laſt, they were initiated into civil wiſdom, the politer ſciences, and religious myſteries. Thou knoweſt, that the abſtruſeſt and moſt excellent part of the Ægyptian learning is allegorical; and it is generally believed, that many of their emblematical fables were tranſplanted into Greece, and embraced with a ſuperſtitious regard by the ignorant multitude. The deſign of theſe allegories is, to conceal the important doctrines of religion from vulgar apprehenſion; and moſt of them bear a beautiful reſemblance to divers actions in hiſtory, or appearances in morals or in nature. Hence aroſe the number of monſtrous ſtories concerning their deities and heroes, which the primitive Greek ſages (ſome of whom were informed in theſe points by the Ægyptians, who had ſettled among them, and others had travelled to the very colleges of the prieſts for information) underſtood and explained to their ſcholars. But when theſe ſtories fell afterwards into the hands of fanciful men, many new ones were added to the old, which defaced the beauty of the alluſions, and the allegorical ſenſe being perverted or forgotten, the literal alone remains. Thus the ſhadow is preſerved inſtead of the ſubſtance; hiſtorical certainty has been loſt amidſt theſe emblematical fables, and the firſt inventors of allegory have vitiated and corrupted that truth, which they only

intended to diſguiſe. In a word, the mythology of the Greeks is intermingled with their hiſtory, and is one principal cauſe of its uncertainty.

It has already been inſinuated, that the ancient Greeks tranſmitted no original annals or records to poſterity, on which it were poſſible to ground an hiſtory of the early ages: but may I not be permitted to ſuppoſe, that had any genuine records of a nation, ſo long uncultivated as the Grecian, eſcaped out of the ruins of barbarous antiquity, they would have proved too jejune and unintereſting to afford good materials for an hiſtory? For indeed what could be expected from a country, one while over-run with ſpoil and rapine, where the inhabitants purſued no uniform method of life, continually wandering and unfixed, like a lawleſs rout of ſavages? Or what could be expected from a people, another while employed in the lingering work of reformation, endeavouring to lay aſide the rudeneſs of their manners, and to exert, though faintly, the rational faculties of their nature? Nothing, that would not have been unworthy the notice of future generations, and beneath the dignity of hiſtory to dwell upon. In order therefore to compenſate for this defect, the hiſtorians, as well as rhapſodiſts, in treating of thoſe ages, have been obliged to make up in fiction, what they wanted in reality; and the firſt times are rather to be conſidered as a period adorned with the fables of poetry, than eſtabliſhed on undoubted monuments. But however the devices of fancy

may delight and amuſe us, in reading of the dark ages, they could never have contributed to our entertainment, had they been thrown into the accounts of ſucceeding times. It is there we require ſomething more ſolid, nor ſhould we be inclined to bear with the overwrought productions of fable. For when the Grecians united in ſociety, and royalties and commonwealths were introduced, we find ourſelves arriving at greater certainty every ſtep we take, and the light of hiſtorical truth breaking in upon us, the further we advance. Nor will this be a matter of wonder to thee, HYDASPES, when thou conſidereſt that the one may be regarded as the cauſe and parent of the other. It was good government, which gave life and being to hiſtory, and the juſt legiſlator made way for the judicious annaliſt. For as in youth, while the judgment is unſteady, and the principles of men are forming, imagination is apt to ſupply the want of prudence; but when they come to years of maturer diſcretion, their cooler and more deliberate reaſon takes place: ſo the province of poetical invention is very wiſely ſeated in the infancy of the world, while the order of government was neglected, and mankind continued in a ſtate of nature; but when political ſocieties increaſed, and civil inſtitutions were formed, the intereſts and policy of contending ſtates opened at once a ſeries of ſurpriſing actions, far excelling the legends of the poets, and preſented a fair topic to the pen of an hiſtorian. Adieu.

C.

LETTER XL.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe, etc.*

AN univerſal ſorrow and confuſion reign at preſent in this city; the old and the young, the civil magiſtrate and the military officer, the private citizen and the recluſe ſcholar, join equally in deploring the irretrievable misfortune which has befallen Athens, and look upon themſelves as equally involved in its fatal conſequences. Thou mayſt at firſt imagine, potent lord, that the late devouring peſtilence has returned; that the naval force of this republic, its ornament and bulwark, has been defeated by the formidable fleet of Corinth; or that the victorious arms of Peloponneſus have waſted Attica with fire and ſword, and are now forming the ſiege of its metropolis. But none of theſe calamities have happened; and to detain thee no longer, thou wilt not, I believe, be ſurpriſed at ſo general a concern, when I inform thee that PERICLES is dead, whoſe counſels have ſet his countrymen at the head of Greece, whoſe ſteady conduct has carried them with honor through the greateſt difficulties, and whoſe military ſkill has given motion to their fleets and armies, during an adminiſtration of forty years. He died this evening at his houſe in the Ceramicus, of a fever, that has hung upon him for ſeveral months, and was occaſioned by a ſevere ſhock, which his conſtitution received from the plague, when

it raged here, which all the art of phyſic, though exerted by HIPPOCRATES himſelf, could never reſtore. His greatneſs of ſoul and natural flow of ſpirits made him diſregard the approaches of danger: he was ſeen every day in the aſſemblies of the people, exhorting them to continue the war with a vigor becoming the Athenian name, and pointing out to them the methods of ſupplying the expenſe of it. He uſed to ſit late in the ſenate, debating on projects for diſtreſſing the enemy, and ſecuring the commerce of Athens, or drawing up diſpatches for their commanders and miniſters abroad. He frequently viſited the fortifications and harbour; examined every thing with his own eyes, one while preſſing forward the equipment of their ſhips, through all the delays which the manner of fitting them out here neceſſarily occaſions; at another, reviewing the troops, and ſtrengthening the city with additional works; till at laſt, as the weakneſs of his body by no means anſwered the zeal of his heart for the public ſervice, he was obliged to leave off appearing abroad, and to call in that aſſiſtance from phyſic, which he had too long neglected.

Upon the firſt news of his confinement, crowds of people daily flocked to the temples, particularly thoſe of JUPITER THE COUNSELLOR, and MINERVA the patroneſs of Athens, to ſolicit, with prayers and offerings, the continuance of ſo valuable a life, as the greateſt national bleſſing they could beſtow, and the ſtrongeſt proof that Athens was ſtill under the protection

and auſpicious influence of her guardian deities. During the ſhort gleams of hope, and quick returns of fear, which ſucceeded each other in the progreſs of the diſtemper, all public affairs were at a ſtand, no news from their armies or ſquadrons inquired after; and the truth of an old obſervation was verified, that mankind more ſenſibly perceive the excellence of any thing from the want than from the enjoyment of it.

The behaviour of PERICLES, in the whole courſe of his illneſs, was compoſed and magnanimous, entirely conſiſtent with the reſt of his life, and agreeable to the calm fortitude he had always ſhown both in the adverſity and proſperity of his fortunes. I was myſelf a witneſs to a remarkable incident. As ſome of his friends, not many days before his death, were ſitting in his chamber, and diſcourſing of his virtue and authority, his memorable actions, and the trophies he had ſet up, whilſt he commanded the armies of the republic, not imagining that he was then attending to their converſation, on the ſudden he called out to us, that all the circumſtances which we had mentioned, were common to him with the other great men whom Athens had produced; and that, beſides, fortune might lay claim to part of the merit of them; but, continued he, you have omitted what I moſt value myſelf upon, that, in my whole adminiſtration none of my fellow-citizens ever wore mourning on my account. We, who were then preſent, were ſo moved with this ſpeech, that we

melted into tears, which I dare ſay a man of PERICLES his ſenſe took for the higheſt panegyric we could beſtow, as I am ſure it was the moſt natural.

I have taken care to ſend away my diſpatch by a ſhip that ſails immediately out of the port for Epheſus; and as the wind ſets fair, and the expreſs who is charged with it, is uſed to expeditious journies, I doubt not but it will bring the earlieſt advice to the court of Perſia of this remarkable and intereſting event. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XLI.

CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS, *firſt Miniſter to* ARTAXERXES.

I HAVE already, noble ſatrap, acquainted the chief ſcribe with the death of PERICLES, and the remarkable circumſtances that attended it. It will be now a very natural as well as uſeful ſpeculation, to take a general ſurvey of his life, to examine into the maxims of his politics, the methods by which he gained and preſerved his authority, and to lay open his temper and turn of mind. In doing this, I ſhall have recourſe both to the encomiums of his friends and the accuſations of his enemies; and endeavour to ſteer between the extremes of exalting ſo remarkable a character, through a mean compliance with the former, or derogating from the true merit of it, through a tincture of the

envious diſpoſitions of the latter. I will neither heighten the coloring of the picture, nor bring the ſhades too forward; but exhibit, as accurately as I can, a faithful, yet not a diſagreeable, likeneſs.

PERICLES was deſcended from the nobleſt families in Athens. His father XANTIPPUS defeated the Perſians at the famous battle of Mycale; his mother AGARISTE was granddaughter to CLISTHENES, who drove out the uſurping race of PISISTRATUS. It may ſeem ſurpriſing, that a perſon whoſe birth and education muſt have diſpoſed him to join with that part of the city which was the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their families and fortunes, ſhould yet, upon his firſt appearance in buſineſs, embrace that of the people, and ſteadily adhere to it in the courſe of his political conduct. But very ſufficient reaſons may be aſſigned for it: the principal of them was, that when he began to appear as a candidate for the offices and honors of the ſtate, CIMON was univerſally regarded as the champion of the ariſtocratical faction; and there was no other way to counterbalance his authority; or to eſtabliſh his own upon the ruins of it, than by ſiding with the oppoſite party. He diſdained to be ſecond amongſt the former, when he could be firſt amongſt the latter. For the great maxim, which one may trace through all his actions, was, to place his country at the head of Greece, and himſelf at the head of his country.

During the long and warm conteſts which PERICLES maintained with CIMON, and afterwards

with THUCYDIDES, the one illuſtrious for his military glory and liberal temper, the other well ſkilled in eloquence and civil policy, he ſhowed himſelf a moſt artful and deſigning ſtateſman. He induſtriouſly ſought out every method that could fix a volatile forgetful people in his intereſts; and whilſt he was thus heated with oppoſition, and ſometimes perſonally endangered from the practices of his enemies, it muſt be owned he oftener conſulted what might ſerve the preſent occaſion, than what would turn to the future advantage of the public. Unable by his private fortunes to emulate the generous hoſpitality of CIMON, he propoſed, that a large fund of money, ſet apart for the neceſſities of a war, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor citizens, every time they frequented the theatre at the repreſentation of a new play. It is no wonder, after he had procured a law which paid them for going where their love of pleaſure alone would have invited them to go, that he ſhould be the author of another, which aſſigns a certain ſalary to them for doing their duty to their country, by attending the aſſemblies, and ſerving in the courts of juſtice. Whilſt I am mentioning arts of this nature, which ſet PERICLES to view in the light rather of a ſelf-intereſted miniſter, than an uſeful patriot to his country, I cannot omit his reducing the power of the venerable tribunal of the AREOPAGUS, which (as I hinted in a former letter [29] he did with an intent to pay his court

[29] Vide Letter xiii.

to the people, by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles his enemies; though at the same time the interest of the public suffered, by having the greatest barrier against the natural licentiousness of Athens almost entirely removed. The magnificent buildings, fine statues, and other public works [30], which were erected at such a vast expense in the course of his ministry, were owing to these motives; to gain the good-will of the people in general, for having been the proposer and inspector of such grand undertakings, which rendered their city the admiration and resort of strangers, and the chief ornament of Greece; to enrich the useful artist and industrious mechanic, and by such a circulation of labor and wealth, to employ those citizens, whose poverty and factious dispositions might have incited them to better their own conditions, by disturbing the security of the public. Lastly, to acquire a reputation for himself, as durable and striking as the works themselves, which were brought to perfection in fewer years, than most people imagined they would be ages in finishing. One circumstance indeed contributed to raise a great load of envy against him; it was, that in order to defray the immense charges of these works, he removed the public treasure of Greece from Delos, where it used to be kept, to Athens, where he had himself the direction of it. His enemies, both foreign and domestic,

[30] Vide letters xi. and xxxiv.

had the moſt plauſible topic imaginable of accuſation againſt him, when they aſſerted the injuſtice of laying out the ſums contributed by the Grecian allies towards the expenſes of a Perſian war, in adorning one particular city. PERICLES likewiſe rendered himſelf very popular by a uſeful ſcheme which he propoſed, that a large ſquadron of gallies ſhould be ſent out every year, with a certain number of citizens on board in pay for eight months, in order to ſupply their colonies abroad, and to ſail round the coaſt and iſlands of Greece, to collect the tributes paid by the allies to the Athenians. By putting this project in execution, two important ends were gained; the eſtabliſhing of a perpetual nurſery for ſeamen, and the making of the Athenian flag reſpected in whatever part of the ſea it was diſplayed. Thou canſt not wonder, potent miniſter, if by theſe methods, by his commanding eloquence, and by his ſingular art of managing popular aſſemblies, he not only ſtood his ground againſt CIMON and THUCYDIDES, but puſhed his advantages ſo far, as to baniſh them both by oſtraciſm. Yet he ſhowed his love for his country in the midſt of his reſentment; for before the term of CIMON's baniſhment was expired, he drew up himſelf a decree for recalling him at the earneſt deſire of the people, then preſſed with an unſucceſsful war againſt Lacedæmon. It is obſerved of PERICLES, that after he had ſurmounted all oppoſition, and got the management of affairs into his own hands, there was a remarkable change in his conduct: he was no

longer ſo compliant with every demand of the people, or ſo ready to fall in with their notions, and contrive ſchemes merely to pay his court to them; but conſtantly purſued the regular plan of meaſures which his prudence dictated, notwithſtanding their fickleneſs and diſcontent; and partly by the aſcendant he had gained over their minds, partly by the force of his oratory, obliged them to comply ſo entirely with whatever he propoſed, that the government of Athens, during his life-time, may be ſaid to have been in appearance popular, but in truth monarchical. And certainly, as it contributed not a little to fix the Athenian glory and power on a ſolid baſis, that the influence of a ſingle man was an over-balance to all the inconveninces and uncertain politics of republican conſtitutions; ſo no man in the city deſerved to poſſeſs ſuch an influence but PERICLES. For his natural genius was ſtrong, penetrating, and extenſive, heightened by all the additional luſtre that learning and philoſophy (which he chiefly owed to ANAXAGORAS) could afford; nor was he unacquainted with muſic and the politer arts. Theſe accompliſhments, joined to the politeneſs and dignity of his behaviour, endeared him to his fellow-citizens; but thoſe which rendered him conſiderable amongſt them, were his maſterly talents of working upon their hopes and fears, ſo as by the one to check their exceſſive confidence, when they were proudly elated with ſucceſs; by the other, to raiſe their drooping ſpirits in conjunctures of difficulty and misfortune; and next, the uſe and

comprehenſion

comprehenſion of the political maxims, which he conſtantly inculcated: "As that the Athe-
" nians, inſtead of waſting themſelves by foreign
" expeditions, ſhould contend for the chief
" place among the Grecian ſtates; that they
" ſhould take every opportunity of improving
" their naval force, and permitting no other
" to lay claim to the dominion of the ſea; that
" they ſhould maintain their dignity and honor
" to the height, and ſuffer no inſults, however
" ſeemingly ſmall, without making ſuitable
" returns; becauſe a tame and paſſive behaviour
" in thoſe caſes only laid them open to greater
" inſults." Theſe (if I may uſe the expreſſion) were the great outlines of his politics, and will, if attended to, afford us a ſurer clue to his conduct, than the calumnies of his enemies, and the idle ſcandal of the comic poets. Is it not, for inſtance, much more rational and fair, to attribute the war of Samos to the neceſſity which he thought there was of humbling a people that had refuſed the Athenian mediation, and were able to diſpute the prize of naval power with Athens herſelf, than to the intereſt of his miſtreſs ASPASIA, whoſe countrymen of Mitylene (it is pretended) had been injured by the Samians? Does he not appear to have acted for the good of his country, when he diſcouraged them from exhauſting their treaſures and money in diſtant ſchemes, againſt Sicily and Perſia, at a time when danger nearer home threatened them? And whoever conſiders the ſtate of affairs in Greece, ſome years before the Peloponneſian war broke out,

muſt be convinced that the jealouſy of Sparta and her allies againſt the riſing empire of Athens, and the aſpiring ſpirit and arbitrary proceedings of the latter, were ſufficient of themſelves to excite the war, without any mixture of the private intereſt of PERICLES to inflame it; though as there was at that ſame juncture a more than ordinary ill humor ariſing againſt him, it is probable he fell in the more readily with the popular diſpoſitions for a war, in order to divert the ſtorm that threatened himſelf. But this point I have already explained more at large on a former occaſion [31].

In his military capacity he frequently expoſed his own perſon with great gallantry; but he was remarkably cautious of hazarding the troops under his command; and he never entered upon action, without leaving as little room as poſſible for the fickleneſs of fortune, or the effects of a happy temerity. However, though the merit of his exploits as a general will not place him in the ſame rank with THEMISTOCLES or CIMON, yet he ſet up nine trophies, whilſt he commanded the armies of the ſtate, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in gaining a great naval victory over the Samians.

Illuſtrious MEGABYZUS, as thou haſt already equalled this extraordinary miniſter in the extent and ſolidity of thy genius and the importance of the ſervices which thou haſt performed for thy prince and country, I can only

[31] Vide Letter iv. and xii.

wiſh that thou mayeſt exceed him in length of days and increaſe of honor. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XLII.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Thebes.

HAVING familiarized myſelf much of late with the hieroglyphical imagery, in order to gain ſome knowledge of the ſacred characters, it has been my cuſtom to ſpend a few hours every day among the valuable monuments of learning in this place, from whence I now write to you, which is called the *ſacred Library*. It is an apartment belonging to that famous tomb of OSMANDUAS, which they boaſt of here, (and I believe juſtly,) as one of the moſt wonderful fabrics now exiſting in the known world. This noble muſeum, the gallery adjoining, and the chamber of the gods and kings, far exceed in magnificence the palaces of living monarchs. Every ſtranger, upon his firſt coming into Ægypt, is ſtruck with wonder at the ſtatelineſs of their buildings; but more ſurpriſed, when he finds the moſt magnificent piles no other than the repoſitories of a ſenſeleſs carcaſe or a dried mummy. But this is the humor that prevails among them; for though the ſtructure of their private houſes is admirable in its kind, eſpecially if compared with the buildings in other countries, yet in their ſepulchres they far

exceed them; leaving nothing undone, that the moſt exquiſite art can contrive to beautify the latter. And though there appears ſomething ridiculous in this peculiarity, this fantaſtic pageantry in death, yet upon reflecting further, one cannot diſapprove of the principle which may have given riſe to it, or which is at leaſt kept up by it amongſt them, namely, the ſetting a low value upon the ſhort time of this preſent life, and being only concerned for the reputation of their virtue after death. And I believe (though the worſhip of deified mortals was very early introduced) theſe magnificent ſepulchres have conſecrated the memory of many illuſtrious perſons, and in general were the firſt public temples. However, there is ſomething in this place extremely affecting to a contemplative mind; the lively figures of ſo many kings, heroes, and great men, as are here repreſented in company with the gods, in the ſame attitudes as if they were ſtill breathing, do, as it were, bring down all ages to the preſent inſtant, and ſtrike one's fancy in a pleaſing manner, rather to be felt than expreſſed. And though I do not approve of their giving form to immortal beings, yet there is ſomewhat great and noble in the thought of ranking illuſtrious perſonages amidſt immortal natures. Around that room, in which it is ſuppoſed that the king's body lies interred, are curiouſly pictured, in ſeveral leſſer apartments, all the ſacred animals of Ægypt. The whole building about the tomb is ten furlongs in circuit [32]: at

[32] Diodor. Sicul.

the firſt entrance, you are led through a portico of various-colored marbles, two hundred feet in length, into a ſtone gallery of four hundred; it is ſupported with beaſts inſtead of pillars, each of one entire ſtone ſixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner. The roof has an azure ſky beſpangled with ſtars. Paſſing through this periſtylion you enter into another portico, which ſtill improves upon your admiration, with more curious carving and greater variety. At the entrance ſtand three ſtatues; the figures are wonderful, not only for their prodigious ſize, but for the beauty of the ſtone, and excellency of the workmanſhip, in which the proportions are ſo nicely preſerved, that the moſt diſcerning eye has never been able to diſcover the leaſt fault or blemiſh in them. The middle one, in a ſitting poſture, is the king OSMANDUAS, which is more than ſeven cubits high; the other two, his daughter and mother, ſtanding on each hand of him. The inſcription upon that of the king has, I think, juſtly challenged any other prince to excel him in any of his works. The ſecond gallery was much damaged by the ravages of CAMBYSES, yet there ſtill remain ſeveral pieces of ſculpture about it, which repreſent OSMANDUAS's wars with the Bactrians. In the firſt wall the king is ſeen aſſaulting a bulwark, environed with a river, which is generally taken for the Eulæus, that furrounds the citadel of Suſa. The ſculpture in the royal palaces of Suſa and Perſepolis is much the ſame with what I find here. They were both beautified

with the ſpoils of Ægypt. But the Ægyptian buildings at Suſa are ſuppoſed to be as ancient as the age of MEMNON [33], who was the ſon of OSMANDUAS, if not the ſame perſon. In the centre of this gallery is a periſtylion open to the air at top, and in it was raiſed a large altar of coſtly marble and excellent workmanſhip, but both the altar and the pillars of the periſtylion are much impaired. Next is the gallery adjoining to this muſeum, in which is to be ſeen the king adorned in his moſt gorgeous robes, offering a tribute of gold and ſilver to the gods. And in the apartment beyond, where he is ſuppoſed to lie buried, begins a ſtately aſcent leading to the top of the whole monument, over which was formerly a border of gold of three hundred and ſixty-five cubits in compaſs and a cubit thick, but it was carried away by CAMBYSES, and the place is ſince ſupplied by one of braſs of the ſame dimenſions. Within the diviſion of every cubit are the ſeveral days of the year engraven, with the riſings and ſettings of the ſtars, and the effects portended by them. For the Theban prieſts have been very exact in regulating the courſe of the year [34], having found ſo great a variation occaſioned by the lunar reckonings. For twelve revolutions of the moon not being equal to the ſolar cycle, the months muſt of neceſſity by degrees change their place, and in a great number of years the feſtival, which was fixed to the beginning of the ſummer ſolſtice, would

[33] Strabo, lib. xv. [34] Ibid. lib. xvii.

be removed into the midſt of the winter. Obſerving this defect, they ſaw a neceſſity of adding five days to the end of every twelve months, which they reckoned at thirty days each, to make up the courſe of the year; of which they gave an account under the diſguiſe of this fable: MERCURY being once at dice with the moon, he got from her the 72d part of the year, which he afterwards added to the 360 days, which were anciently the days of the year, and therein celebrated the feſtivals of their gods [35]. Thence the names of theſe ſeveral additional days were taken from the gods; the firſt was called OSIRIS, it being celebrated in honor of him; the ſecond ARUERIS, dedicated to the ſenior ORUS; the third to TYPHO; the fourth to ISIS; the fifth to NEPTHÆ, the wife of TYPHO, and ſiſter to ISIS. The prieſts, who are curious to preſerve an exact regiſter of time among themſelves, though leſs concerned to rectify the inaccuracies of the vulgar, have by continual obſervations, ſince thoſe additional days were taken in, diſcovered that there wanted ſtill ſix hours in every year to render it complete. For this reaſon, in their hieroglyphical manner, when they would expreſs a year, they name a quadrant, becauſe from one riſing of SOTHIS the dog-ſtar to another, the fourth part of a day is added; ſo that by their moſt exact calculations the year conſiſts of 365 days and a quadrant [36], or the

[35] Plutar. de Iſid. & Oſir.

[36] Horapollo, Hierogl. lib. i. c. 5. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i.

fourth part of a day, which makes the intercalation of a day neceſſary every fourth year.

But as the Ægyptians, by a ſuperſtitious uſage, which the prieſts willingly indulge them in, muſt have their feſtivals run through every day in the year, the civil year is ſtill left according to the 365 cubital ſegments, without any reckoning of a ſupernumerary day in the fourth year. The burying-places of the ancient kings [37], which lie above the Memnonium, and are cut by moſt exquiſite art in the natural rock, have not eſcaped my notice. The obeliſks found in thoſe repoſitories declare their power and greatneſs, their numerous armies, and the tribute they impoſed upon conquered nations. Indeed there is nothing about Thebes of note, which I have not made the ſubject of obſervation. My quality in Perſia entitles me to a handſome reception every where in Ægypt; but the humanity of PHARNUCES, the governor of Thebes, is more than an ordinary friendſhip; it is by his means I have had the eaſieſt acceſs wherever my curioſity led me. I have often wondered at his generous and diſintereſted regard for a ſtranger, and ſhall always think of it with gratitude: he courts my ſtay, and fails not to make it agreeable. I told him lately, I had through his favor gratified my curioſity ſufficiently, and ſhould ſhortly take a little ramble in the neighbourhood of Thebes, as far as Syene, before I ſet forwards for Heliopolis. Yes, ORSAMES, ſaid he with

37 Strabo, lib. xvii.

a ſmile, but you are miſtaken, if you think you have ſeen Thebes: upon which he gave orders to his ſervants that a barge ſhould be ready, when I pleaſed, to carry me over the river to Tentyra, and that I ſhould be conducted to the top of Isis's temple [38]. I knew PHARNUCES too well, to think any propoſal of his deſerved to be neglected: accordingly one morning, when the air was clear, I paſſed over to Tentyra, a ſmall city, if compared to Thebes. It ſtands on a hill on the oppoſite ſhore. The temple of Isis is its moſt conſiderable building, and well deſerves a particular deſcription, if the many works of this kind did not make that tedious. I ſhall only obſerve, that the whole front lies in the ſame line, except one large portico, which projects in the middle. On each ſide from the portico run three ranges of granite columns, which form a noble piazza, and ſupport the building. The columns are of an extraordinary height, and the circumference ſuch as ſeven men could ſcarcely fathom; from whence I ſhall leave you to judge of the magnificence of the whole. As ſoon as I reached the top of the temple, I ſaw plainly why my friend PHARNUCES had told me I had not yet

[38] The ruins of this temple are ſtill extant, according to the relations of modern travellers, who ſay it was a temple of SERAPIS; but as the worſhip of that god was not introduced into Aegypt till the reign of king PTOLEMY, many ages after this period of time, we muſt ſuppoſe it was originally dedicated to Isis, and afterwards turned to the worſhip of SERAPIS. Note by the tranſlator.

ſeen Thebes. Here I was raiſed by the advantage of the ground and the additional height of the temple; I ſaw the Nile under me interſperſed with ſmall iſlands, none of which were unoccupied near ſo wealthy a city. Some ſerved for ſtations to ſmall veſſels, and contained the huts of fiſhermen; others planted with fruits and vegetables to ſupply the town; and ſome adorned with the houſes of wealthy citizens, and laid out into commodious gardens. The numberleſs veſſels, that paſſed by them continually, diſcovered ſomething very new and pleaſing, and ſet before me the whole traffic of Ægypt; all whoſe great cities lying on the banks of the Nile uſe this one channel for the conveyance of their merchandize, and as far as my eye could reach north and ſouth, the ſcene of buſineſs was continued. But I was ſent hither to take a view of Thebes, an object too large (as PHARNUCES thought) whilſt I was in the midſt of it, and therefore very judiciouſly ſet me at this diſtance. The air was clear, and a briſk wind diſperſed the ſmoke of the city, which lay ſtretched on the oppoſite bank, and riſing before me toward the eaſtern mountains. I had made myſelf acquainted with its different quarters, and knew its moſt conſiderable ſtructures; ſo was better fitted for ſuch a view, and could take it in without confuſion. The temples and palaces preſented themſelves to me like lofty cedars above the reſt of the foreſt; and I now could obſerve ſome proportions in thoſe great works, which before were loſt to me, becauſe I viewed them

by parts; and what filled me chiefly with aſtoniſhment only, now ſhowed beauty, order, and exquiſite deſign. Thoſe vaſt ſtatues and prodigious groups of figures ſeemed fit ornaments in their place. I could from hence, by my extenſive proſpect, ſee the wiſdom of the founder of this city in the choice of its ſituation, in regard to its accommodations and ſecurity. Two or three days after I went to PHARNUCES, to inform him of my intended journey: he ſaid, he wiſhed I could have found any thing to have detained me longer, and aſked me, how I liked the proſpect from Isis's temple? I anſwered, it was above all I had met with before; I had ſeen the handſome ſtreets of Thebes, noble palaces, curious obeliſks, ſtatues, and temples, but never could have formed the idea that proſpect imprinted on my mind. He ſtept out of the room, and immediately brought the very proſpect I have been deſcribing painted upon linen, and ſeveral draughts of the remarkable edifices of Syene, (which I had not ſeen,) telling me, theſe, he fancied, might vie with the maſter-pieces of Greece, and as I ſhould have an opportunity of making the compariſon, deſired my acceptance of them; which I ſhall preſerve with the utmoſt care, not more on account of their value than my eſteem for PHARNUCES. For his ſake I ſhould leave Thebes with reluctance, did I not hope thereby to furniſh myſelf with materials for ſo agreeable a correſpondence as CLEANDER's. Farewel.

L. & H.

LETTER XLIII.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

IN my laſt letter, HYDASPES, I endeavoured to offer thee ſome reaſons for the fabulous uncertainty of the Grecian hiſtory in the earlieſt ages; and I concluded with applying one general remark to this particular nation, *viz.* that the introduction of civil government into the world, gave riſe to hiſtorical truth. I would obſerve, in the next place, that it can hardly be ſaid till very lately, that any hiſtorian hath appeared amongſt them; *i. e.* any man who deſerves the name of an hiſtorian, ſince moſt of thoſe writings which are entitled hiſtories, may ſcarcely be conſtrued to extend beyond a naked regiſter of public events.

What other character can be given of the works of ARCHILOCHUS, or THEAGENES of Rhegium? Will the Cretan hiſtory of XENON, or the Lydian kings of XANTHUS the Sardian, plead admittance for them into the libraries of the learned? Can the Theogony of ARISTEAS lay claim to our eſteem, or DAMASTES of Sigeum be remembered to poſterity from his treaties of nations and cities? Equally fabulous and dry, we can neither reflect on them, after a ſerious peruſal, with ſatisfaction, nor propoſe them as models for imitation. HECATÆUS the Mileſian, and HELLANICUS of Mitylene, have within theſe fifty years improved and reformed hiſtorical knowledge to a great degree; but even then it

might be regarded only as in the dawn: the honor of carrying it to any kind of perfection was reserved to HERODOTUS. For if we conſider the variety of his learning, and the copiouſneſs of his ſubject, the ſmoothneſs of his ſtyle, and the perſpicuity of his narration, we ſhall find that the fiction of the poets, and the dull annals of laborious compilers, will bear no proportion either in profit or in pleaſure, when compared with his hiſtory. He begins it with CANDAULAS and CYRUS, and brings it down to the battle of Mycale towards the latter end of XERXES's reign, which comprehends the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years. Beſides the ſtory of the Greeks and Perſians, which is the main argument of his work, he throws in that of other nations, by way of epiſode or digreſſion. This extraordinary perſon was born at Halicarnaſſus, a Grecian colony in the Leſſer Aſia, not long before the invaſion of Greece by the armies of XERXES. In his youth, he retired from his native city to Samos, in order to avoid the arbitrary proceedings of LYGDAMIS, the grandſon of the famous ARTEMISIA, who acquitted himſelf with ſo much honor in the naval engagement at Salamis. It was there he formed himſelf upon the dialect of IONIA, and compiled his hiſtory. This was indeed a place more peculiarly fitted to his purpoſe; for as in every democratical government, ſo in that of Samos, a man is neither biaſſed by hopes nor by fears, and is at liberty to commend, without the leaſt imputation of flattery, and to cenſure, without that of malice or detraction.

In the mean while he ſpared no pains to inform himſelf of all that was neceſſary, in the beſt manner which he could. To this end he travelled into Ægypt, ſurveyed its chief towns, converſed with the prieſts of Thebes and Memphis, and penetrated into the principles of their religion and learning, as far as his own ſagacity could carry him, and their recluſeneſs would permit him. He travelled through the ſeveral cantons and republics of Greece, ſaw the principal cities of Aſia, and viſited the borders of Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia. Returning, however, after a long voluntary exile, into his own country, he bore a conſiderable part in the expulſion of the tyrant; but meeting with envy from his fellow-citizens, inſtead of that gratitude which he expected, as the juſt reward of his ſervices, he came to Athens; and after about a twelvemonth's ſtay here, departed into Italy with a colony of Athenians, to build a city called Thurium, near the ruins of the ancient Sybaris. As ſoon as he had drawn up his hiſtory from the materials he had collected with ſuch infinite diligence and induſtry, he determined to expoſe it to the judgment of all Greece. It happened, that during his reſidence at Athens, beſides the feaſt of Panathenæa, where he read over his work aloud, the Olympian exerciſes were then performing, to which the Grecians reſorted in general from each ſtate, and thus he had a very fair opportunity given him to put his deſign in execution. Many of his auditors had no doubt been perſonally engaged in ſome of the battles againſt

XERXES and MARDONIUS, and not one of them could be unacquainted with the principal facts of a war, so honorable to Greece, and inglorious to Persia. In the midst of this assembly he declared, that he appeared before them, not so much a spectator of their games, as a competitor for the prize of reputation; and recited his work publicly a second time with universal applause and approbation. Nothing can be a greater testimony of this applause, than that the names of the nine muses have been given to the nine books of his history; as if the composition were above the standard of humanity, and the joint labor of those celebrated divinities.

If, after a judgment so unanimous, and in every respect so valuable, I may be allowed to add my own, I must freely confess, HYDASPES, that I have received more instruction from the history of HERODOTUS, than from any author within the little sphere of my observation. Every part of the narrative suggested matter of entertainment to the imagination, and useful improvement to the mind. I considered myself one while as under the protection and guidance of the most eminent heroes of antiquity, as having their bright example before my eyes, and in the future course of my actions attending to the noble principles which influenced their conduct in life. I considered myself another while as a citizen of the world at large; as divested of every national prejudice or false bias, while the great men of past ages submitted to my censure; and in my own breast I pronounced an impartial and disinterested

ſentence on their characters. In each of theſe views, hiſtory may be called the ſchool, where the living, that would be wiſe, are the ſcholars; where the dead, as well the fools as the wiſe, are frequent leſſons of courage and experience to generals, of prudence and fidelity to miniſters, of moderation and juſtice to kings. Hence every perſon, in his private capacity, may learn to merit the diſtinguiſhing name of a man; and princes are warned, that they are no more than men, and that fame is always juſt to the dead, however partial to the living. In ſhort, nothing can be more agreeable, than by the means of hiſtory to accompany MILTIADES at Marathon, THEMISTOCLES at Salamis, or CIMON at Mycale. To be placed as a ſpectator out of all hazards; to reap wiſdom from the danger of others; to regulate what one has to do by what has been done; to foretel the future by the paſt; and thus to become a diviner, without magic; and a prophet, without inſpiration. But I forbear to ſay any thing farther on this theme: thou muſt pardon me, HYDASPES, for having troubled thee ſo long; but it was impoſſible for me not to enlarge on the excellence and utility of hiſtory, when I was ſpeaking of the man, who hath firſt placed it in its true dignity and luſtre. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER

LETTER XLIV.

GOBRYAS *to* GLEANDER.

As I had no particular commands to deliver to thee, I have neglected to write to Athens for ſome time; and to ſay the truth, my CLEANDER, thy diligence is ſuch, that it leaves us nothing to hope for on the ſide of information; and thy ſagacity is ſo great, that it anticipates the wiſeſt inſtructions of the miniſters. Think not that I mean to flatter thee; for as thou knoweſt me to be framed of a temper above indulging that vice, even to the weakeſt of princes, it would ill become me, when I am ſpeaking to a man of ſenſe. The cruel proceedings of the Athenians againſt the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors have not deterred the Lacedæmonians from ſending another to this court in their ſtead. His name, it ſeems, is PYRACMON. As ſoon as he arrived here, he addreſſed himſelf to thy friend HYDASPES, the chamberlain, telling him, he was a Spartan by nation, and demanded an audience of the king. HYDASPES acquainted him with the ceremony of proſtration, which it is abſolutely neceſſary that all ſhould comply with, who are willing to be admitted into the chamber of preſence. "For," ſays he, "we are ordered "by the law to adore our ſovereign, as the "living image of the Deity, which ſuſtains "and preſerves the univerſe." To which the other anſwered with the Laconic brevity and

pride; "I will do nothing that ſhall be thought "a diſhonor to my country;" and therefore an audience was refuſed him. However, he has had ſeveral conferences with MEGABYZUS and myſelf; but his behaviour and his inſtructions are both ſo reſerved, that it is impoſſible for us to learn any particulars of moment from him. His only buſineſs, as far as I can collect it from all which he has ſaid, is, to put the king to a fruitleſs expenſe, without offering any ſuitable recompence; and to aſk for ſupplies, without propoſing any mutual advantages to Perſia. This requeſt, thou mayeſt eaſily conjecture, is regarded as wild and extravagant; beſides, it is not conſiſtent with the political views of our court, and the reſolution of the Perſian council, to interfere in the civil broils and diſſenſions of Greece, while the leading republics are deſtroying one another upon equal terms. It will be our part, whenever that time ſhall come, to throw ourſelves into the ſcale of the weakeſt; an argument which has already been fully treated of in a former letter [39], and upon that account will more properly be waved at the preſent.

I agree with thee, that the removal of PERICLES was an act of folly, and that his ſudden reſtoration to the higheſt offices in the commonwealth was at once an inſtance of the wiſdom and inconſtancy of the Athenian people; but as I was not ſurpriſed at the one, ſo I could not wonder at the other. I was extremely

[39] Vide Letter xiv. and xxiv.

pleaſed with the relation which thou gaveſt me of thy viſit to that excellent ſtateſman, on thy return from Salamis; nor was I without hopes, that, by the dexterity and politeneſs of thy converſation, thou mighteſt have procured ſome material intelligence from him. And yet how precarious is every proſpect of human happineſs! Soon after his reſtoration, we were told of the waſting diſeaſe that preyed upon him; and, lo! thy next brought the moving narrative of his death. Senſible as I was, that Greece had loſt her ableſt politician, and that the moſt powerful obſtacle to the deſigns of ARTAXERXES was removed, I could not help yielding for a moment to the ſoft impreſſions of tenderneſs and ſorrow. The unaffected encomium which he beſtowed upon himſelf before he died, gave me the ſtrongeſt idea I had ever entertained of his mild and equitable adminiſtration. PERICLES was above the genius of the city that produced him; for he ſeemed born to monarchical ſway, notwithſtanding Providence had placed him in a republican ſtate. Such however was his influence, that though in effect, he ſettled the moſt important points according to his own inclinations, yet his own inclinations were guided by the trueſt diſcretion, and conſiſtent with the moſt perfect freedom. Well might he then be reverenced as the father of his country; a name which he expreſſed, not in any royal formality of titles, but in the real courſe of his government. Thus much, I think, thou mayeſt reaſonably expect from me, as a due tribute of praiſe to the

character of a good miniſter in the ſervice of his country, and to the memory of a great man, though an enemy to Perſia.

The ſiege of Platæa, according to the accounts I have received of the place, will laſt, in all probability, a conſiderable while longer. It is certainly a town of conſequence to the Athenians, and deſerves well of them, for its ſteady adherence to their intereſt in the preſent war, and of all Greece, for its inviolable attachment to the common cauſe. Fail not to ſend the earlieſt news of the motions of PHORMIO's fleet. In the mean time forget not to inform thyſelf of the intrigues in the city, and who is likely to ſucceed PERICLES in the popular eſteem and adminiſtration. But theſe things I forbear to enlarge upon, and therefore intruſt thee to the ſafe dictates of thy own obſervation and prudence. In ſhort, I have nothing to add further, than the ſincereſt expreſſions of the pleaſure which I take in thy approved capacity for buſineſs, and the ſtrongeſt exhortation I can give thee, to perſevere in the ſame courſe of fidelity and obedience. Be aſſured, CLEANDER, this alone will recommend thee to the protection of OROMASDES, and the favor of our mighty maſter, for whoſe health I pray, before the morning walks over the dews of eaſtern hills, and after the ſun ſinks into the oceans of the weſt. Adieu.

From Babylon. C.

LETTER XLV.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe, etc.*
From Athens.

THE military operations of this campaign prove a great deal more active, than thoſe of the two former; whether it is that the animoſities of the contending ſtates, inſtead of decaying, grow more vigorous, by the continuance of the war; or that the hopes, which were formerly entertained of peace, being quite vaniſhed ſince the fruitleſs negotiations of laſt year, the various parties, that prevail in theſe republics, are agreed to give a different turn to their private reſentments, by exerting them only againſt the common enemy.

I intend this diſpatch ſhall contain an exact account of ſuch material events as have happened ſince the death of PERICLES.

The Peloponneſian army is ſtill employed, or rather waſting itſelf, at the ſiege of Platæa, with no great profit to themſelves, or damage to their enemies. The laſt letters from thence ſay, that the beſieged have lately made a vigorous ſally, and undermined a mount, which the beſiegers had raiſed to plant their engines upon, and command the rampart of the place.

An account is arrived here of an unſucceſsful expedition, which the Ambraciots and Spartans have made againſt Acarnania. It was projected by the former, in conjunction with the Chaonians and ſome other Barbarians, who inhabit

the frontiers of Greece towards Macedonia. They perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to ſend them a thouſand men, under the command of CNEMUS, an officer of good reputation; whilſt the Corinthians and the other allies were preparing a large fleet with tranſports to join them, and complete the conqueſt of Acarnania. CNEMUS imagining he ſhould over-run the country upon the firſt inroad, ſet forward without ſtaying for this reinforcement, with his army drawn up in three columns. As he advanced towards Straton, the metropolis of Acarnania, the inhabitants made a briſk attack upon a column of Chaonians, who led the van, and were imprudently marched forward ſome leagues beyond the reſt of the army. Theſe barbarians made no great reſiſtance, and were entirely routed; which ſo diſcouraged CNEMUS, that he retreated with ſome precipitation, leſt he ſhould be intercepted by the ſuccours that were aſſembling for the relief of Straton.

The ſatisfaction, which the Athenians expreſs at the failure of this enterpriſe, which, however well conducted, could have affected them but very remotely, is much heightened by the news they received yeſterday of a naval victory, which their fleet, commanded by PHORMIO, has gained over that of the Corinthians. The firſt notice they received of it was by ſeeing a trireme enter the harbour of Piræus with the uſual marks of ſucceſs. The officers and ſailors were ranked upon the deck crowned with garlands, and filling the air with repeated acclamations. The ſhip herſelf was

hung with wrecks of ſhattered veſſels of the enemy, and adorned with trophies of arms, whilſt the oars kept time to the harmony of muſical inſtruments. Great multitudes of people flocked inſtantly to enjoy this agreeable ſpectacle from the ſhore. The captain, whoſe name is DIOMEDON, landed and went directly to the Prytaneum, (or town-houſe, where the Prytanes have a plain repaſt prepared every day for them at the public charge,) and delivered his letters into their hands. Theſe magiſtrates immediately aſſembled the ſenate; and after the letters had been read there, they were communicated to the impatient people in an extraordinary aſſembly that very evening. To-morrow is appointed as a day of thankſgiving at all their temples for this ſucceſs. I have obtained a copy of the diſpatch ſent by PHORMIO, with an account of the action, which I have encloſed in this packet. It ſhows as well the experience and ſpirit of the admiral, as the honeſt plainneſs of a true Athenian; and therefore I imagined, noble ſcribe, that a ſight of it would not be diſagreeable to thyſelf and the reſt of the Perſian council. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XLVI.

PHORMIO *to the Senate and People of* Athens.

I RECEIVED the orders you ſent me to prevent the fleet of Corinth and the other confederates from joining with CNEMUS and the Ambraciots; and hope you will not be diſſatisfied with the manner in which I have executed them. Upon the firſt advice that they were ſailed from the Criſſæan gulph, I weighed anchor from Naupactus with twenty gallies, in order to attend their motions, and came up with them juſt as they were got out of the Straits. As ſoon as we deſcried their fleet, which conſiſted of forty-ſeven ſail, under the command of three admirals, making the beſt of its way from Patræ to the oppoſite continent of Acarnania, I held a council of war with the other captains; in which it was determined, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of number lay on their ſide, to venture an engagement. We conſidered that they were rather furniſhed for the land-ſervice than a naval action; and that the goodneſs of our ſhips, and the experience and courage of our ſeamen, would be an over-balance to our inferiority in point of force. Accordingly, on the twentieth of the month Thargelion in the morning, the ſails were ordered to be ſtruck, the rowers to lower themſelves under the deck, the ſoldiers to repair to their reſpective ſtations, and the ſquadron to fall into a line of battle.

The enemy, obſerving that they could not eſcape us without fighting, drew up their fleet in the form of a roundel, placing the larger veſſels on the outſide, as a defence to the tranſports, which were diſpoſed in the midſt. Five of their ſwifteſt gallies were likewiſe ordered to be ready to ſally out upon us through the vacant ſpaces of the line, in whatever part we ſhould make an impreſſion. In this poſture we continued ſome time, till an eaſterly wind, which blows every morning out of the gulph, ariſing, I obſerved that their fleet was not only contracted by it into a narrower compaſs, but their order conſiderably diſturbed. I thought this favorable opportunity not to be omitted, and therefore ordered the ſignal of battle to be hung out, and the trumpets to ſound a charge from the admiral's ſhip, which was immediately followed round the reſt of the ſquadron. The firſt encounter was rough; a Corinthian ſhip commanded by MACHON, one of the admirals, endeavoured to break my oars; but I avoided the ſhock, and after giving her a volley of darts and ſtones, bore down upon the poop, and flung a bridge over her, and notwithſtanding a ſmart oppoſition, entered ſoldiers on board her, when ſhe ſurrendered. In the mean time the reſt of the ſquadron broke into the enemy's line, and diſperſed their whole fleet: DIOMEDON, trierarch of the *Thetis*, and DEMOSTHENES, trierarch of the *Nereids*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a peculiar manner. The former, though he was attacked by two of the enemy's ſhips, who attempted to board him

with grappling-irons, repulſed them both, put the one to flight, and ſunk the other. The latter ſhattered ſeveral of the Corinthian ſhips, and always ſtretched a-head after the fliers; leaving thoſe he had damaged, for others that followed him to take. In general, your officers and ſoldiers behaved themſelves with a gallantry and ſkill becoming Athenians. We have made ourſelves maſters of twelve ſhips, and a great many priſoners; and after erecting a trophy, and conſecrating a galley to NEPTUNE at Molycricum, returned to Naupactus, from whence I have diſpatched DIOMEDON with this account. I cannot conclude, without preſſing you in the moſt earneſt manner, to ſend me a large and ſpeedy reinforcement, or elſe the preſent ſucceſs can never turn to any future advantage. Your enemies, far from being diſcouraged, redouble their preparations. The remainder of the conquered fleet are rendezvouſed at Cyllene, the arſenal of the Eleans, where they have been joined by CNEMUS and BRASIDES, whom the Lacedæmonians have ſent with ſupplies of men and money. They give out, that they ſhall ſoon be able to put to ſea with ſeventy ſail.

Wherefore, Athenians, let not any delays, proceeding from faction or intereſt, retard the courſe of your buſineſs, and produce inconveniencies, which in former times have proved highly detrimental to you, and may be fatal now. Conſider how ungrateful it would be towards the gods, not to ſecond the proſperous beginning they have ſent you; how inexcuſable towards yourſelves, if you do not maintain

the empire of the ſea, which your anceſtors tranſmitted down to you in full luſtre at the price of ſo much blood; and how unaccountable it muſt appear in the eyes of all Greece, if the victors are not as ſolicitous to improve their advantages, as the vanquiſhed to repair their loſſes. Farewel.

From on board the MINERVA quinquireme, P. in the harbour of Naupactus.

LETTER XLVII.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Syene *in* Thebais.

THE reports I had heard of the wonderful cataract and other natural curioſities about this place, incited me to make an excurſion hither, before I ſet forward on my journey into the Lower Ægypt. But here, I can aſſure you, my excurſion terminates, leſt you might ſuſpect that I am going further into the barren wilds of Æthiopia, or the burning ſands of Libya; and I am not ſorry it has led me ſo far, as I can hereby impart to you ſome new diſcoveries relating to the Ægyptian worſhip, which I believe are yet unknown in Greece, not many of that country having extended their travels to theſe remote corners of Ægypt. Beſides that, they are of ſuch a nature, as the ſuperſtitious Greeks would not be much intereſted in making. For although thoſe who travel, are generally

men of better ſenſe, and underſtandings elevated above the vulgar, yet are they cautious of divulging any of their diſcoveries, which might help to undeceive the more ignorant. I had often heard at Thebes, that the people further up in Thebais paid nothing towards the charge of thoſe animals uſed there and in the Lower Ægypt in the ſervice of the inferior gods [40]. I have wondered much, why they in particular were exempted, but never could be rightly informed of the reaſon of ſo peculiar an exemption, until I came to this place; ſo careful are the prieſts and devotees of that ſuperſtitious worſhip to conceal and diſguiſe every thing that it is not their intereſt to publiſh. Upon coming hither, I was ſenſible of a great change from that pomp and pageantry, with which the religious of other parts in Ægypt have ſo extravagantly overloaded the worſhip of their gods. When I entered one of their temples, I was ſtruck with the awful ſolemnity of the place; and it raiſed in me a devout ſerioufneſs, which all the ſculpture and ſenſible repreſentations of the gods had never before done in thoſe I had elſewhere ſeen. There was ſomething plain and ſimple in its ornaments, yet when taken together, ſeemed great and auguſt, and extremely well adapted to excite a mechanical devotion; for I cannot call that otherwiſe, which is excited by any thing leſs than the pure contemplation of Oromasdes, when the mind abſtracts itſelf from all material objects,

[40] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

and ſeeks no other temple but its own breaſt. A few hieroglyphics and emblematical figures were raiſed in ſculpture from the walls; and the Æthiopians [41], of whom the Syenites are a part, aſcribe to themſelves the invention of it. One figure preſents itſelf at the entrance, which is rather remarkable, but ſeems placed there rather to characterize the powers and attributes, than intended for the ſhape and figure of the divinity they worſhip. It was a ſerpent with an hawk's head [42]: but the account I received from them of their religion was this: "That they owned no mortal being "to be god, but their god CNEPH; and him "they aſſerted to be without beginning and "without end, the maker and governor of "the univerſe [43]." The ſerpent ſeems to ſymbolize that ſpirit and vivific energy, which is by him diffuſed through all nature. And thus, ſay they, we are taught by EPEIS, our greateſt hierophant and ſcribe, "that the firſt "moſt divine being is as a ſerpent having an "hawk's head, beautiful to look on, who, "if he opens his eyes, fills the univerſe with "light; if he winks, darkneſs is made." However, in religion I cannot approve even of this emblematical imagery; for by uſing it in order to bring down myſterious truths to the level of common underſtandings, we are too apt to materialize in our thoughts the nature

41 Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.
42 Philo. Bybl. Euſeb. lib. i. p. 47. c. edit. Par.
43 Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

of the divine Being. And I am afraid it has but too often led the way to that ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition and worſhip of animals, which extravagantly prevails in moſt other parts of this country. Yet it gives me pleaſure to find, that amidſt all theſe corruptions the notion of one Supreme Deity is not totally and univerſally obliterated; and that the ſame good dæmon, whom we call OROMASDES, the great author of the world, is not only adored among us in Perſia, but his worſhip ſtill preſerved even amidſt all the monſtrous rites and ſuperſtitions of Ægypt. It may not be unworthy of your notice, what with much prying into their ancient learning I have in general collected, and which I am under no reſtrictions not to reveal to you, *viz.* that the firſt THOTH, or MERCURY, whoſe remains are preſerved on their pillars and in their ſacred books, never ſo much as mentions the Supreme Deity, who is above all things, or names, him in the making of the world; and only aſcribes divinity to certain mortal men and women [44], and thoſe ſuch as cannot be applauded from the ſtory of their exploits either for wiſdom or virtue, and ſome of them notorious for the worſt of vices. But the Hierophants ſay here, that a ſecond HERMES, at leaſt nine hundred years later than the firſt, ſaw reaſon and neceſſity to reform and diſſent from the falſe coſmogony that had been introduced by him,

[44] Sanchon. fragment. apud Euſeb. Auguſt de Civ. Dei. c. 7.

who attempted to explain the generation of things by certain principles in a chaos, without any help from the firſt and eternal mover. And of this latter HERMES, who was called SIPHOAS [45], the ſon of HEPHÆSTUS, and who reigned over all Ægypt, they preſerve here at Syene certain remains. But the Ægyptian prieſts in general deny that this ſecond MERCURY diſſented from the firſt. They ſay, he took great pains [46] to collect thoſe invaluable treaſures of learning, which the firſt MERCURY left in different places inſcribed on pillars in the hieroglyphical characters, and which had lain neglected during the confuſion of the intermediate times; and after he had made a complete collection, ordered them to be laid up in a book in the ſacred reveſtries. Though theſe ſpeculations have much engroſſed my thoughts ſince my coming to Syene, I have not omitted ſeeing thoſe curioſities in the neighbourhood of this place, which brought me hither, though ſtraitened for time after ſo long a ſtay at Thebes. I ſailed in an open galley to Elephantine, an Iſland in the Nile about one hundred and twenty ſtadia ſouth from Syene, a little above which is the famous cataract; and there ends the navigation of the Nile. The river having paſſed Ethiopia, where it leaves many lakes and marſhes by the diſperſion of its waters, at laſt recollects its ſcattered ſtreams from Phile, a rocky iſland on its eaſtern ſide; and rolls on from thence,

[45] Syncell. 114. a. [46] Manetho. apud Euſeb.

till near to Elephantine it is oppoſed by a chain of rocks that lie acroſs its channel [47]. Daſhed againſt them and grown impetuous, it mounts in foaming waves, and after ſtruggling amidſt the broken cliffs and craggy precipices, pours down from an immenſe height with a ſtupendous roaring and noiſe. But the incredible boldneſs of the people there is not leſs to be wondered at [48], who expoſe themſelves to the raging current in ſmall boats two together, the one ſteering, the other rowing; and paſſing the ſtraits of the rock by little channels, ruſh headlong with the ſtream to the amazement of the beholders: for after giving them up for loſt, you preſently ſee them again, as if ſhot out of an engine, far from the place of their fall, and rowing ſafely in the aſſuaged waters. In ſailing for pleaſure about Elephantine, we were much entertained with many rude proſpects of rocks and precipices, at the bottom of which are caves and grottoes formed by the continual breaking of the waves upon them. Near Phile are two piked rocks [49], where, the Ægyptian prieſts ſay, are fountains of unfathomable depth. They call them the veins of the Nile, and annually in their ſolemnities upon the increaſe of its waters, go thither to throw in their preſents as a tribute to the Nile. But when I arrive at Heliopolis, where I hope to be by the time that the ſolemnities upon that occaſion are celebrated,

47 Seneca natur. quæſt. lib. iv. ed. Lipſ. p. 747. B. C.
48 Ibid. p. 748. 49 Herod Euterp. c. 28.

celebrated, I ſhall have more leiſure, and be better prepared to entertain you with ſome phyſical accounts about it. In the area of an encloſure belonging to the college of aſtronomers in this town, is raiſed a ſtone edifice, with a ſpacious terrace on the top; where are fixed in the open air the larger inſtruments, always ready at hand for their obſervations; and a great aperture in the middle looks down into a very deep well [50], which being exactly under the Tropic circle, is a certain index for the ſummer ſolſtice. Though I am juſt ſetting out upon my progreſs into the Lower Ægypt, I could not forbear communicating to you theſe obſervations upon things, which afforded me ſome new diſcoveries, and a greater entertainment than I expected. And as I ſhall ſcarcely have leiſure to write to you again till I reach Heliopolis or Memphis, I was unwilling there ſhould be ſo long an interval in our correſpondence. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XLVIII.

CLEANDER *to* SMERDIS. *From* Athens.

THOU wilt be ſurpriſed venerable Mage, when I inform thee, that a city ſo renowned as this is for its martial exploits, ſhould at the

[50] Strabo. Plin. lib. ij. c. 73.

ſame time be no leſs famous for its learning and acquirements in ſcience. Its principal men think they are but half qualified for the ſervice of the ſtate, till they have gone through the whole circle of arts; and it is not uncommon, even for thoſe of the firſt rank, to give themſelves up entirely to the culture of them. They make no ſcruple to undertake long voyages, in order to enrich themſelves and their country with freſh diſcoveries; and at home make it their chief buſineſs, and what mixes even in their entertainments, to promote knowledge. It is by theſe means, and by the encouragement which is given to ingenuity in general, that the Athenians are confeſſedly ſuperior to all the other ſtates of Greece, in this reſpect at leaſt. There is no ſcience which they do not profeſs, and (what is much more to their credit) no art in which they do not excel. The myſterious parts of learning and the knowledge of nature have been brought to them, though imperfectly, from Ægypt. The more practical arts, ſuch as ſculpture and painting, building and muſic, owe, if not their invention, yet all their grace to them, for whether they have improved only on the rough and uncouth plans brought from thence, or themſelves ſtruck out thoſe ideas of beauty and ſymmetry, their merit will be equal. It is univerſally agreed, that they have finiſhed almoſt at the ſame time that they ſet about theſe arts, and in the compaſs of a very few years carried them to the utmoſt perfection they ſeem capable of. Thou wilt aſk perhaps, whether

it is on theſe attainments alone, that the Athenians build their reputation, and to what purpoſes, beſides thoſe of pomp and luxury, theſe refined arts ſerve? Thou, who haſt been trained up in the diſcipline of the old Perſians, (whoſe chief excellence was to ſhoot, and ſpeak the truth,) wilt be apt to deſpiſe all acquirements which do not tend to make men wiſer or better. I agree with thee, that theſe are the true, and ſhould be the chief end of all inſtitutions; nor are the Athenians negligent of this. They make it their buſineſs alſo to improve the mind, to correct the will, and to infuſe ſentiments of virtue and honeſty into their youth. And I am the more perſuaded of this, when I conſider the turn and genius, the aim and actions of a young philoſopher, who begins to draw the eyes and attention of the city on him. He has taken a courſe in his ſearch after knowledge different from all others: while they have been hunting after it in diſtant climes, he has been confined to his own city and almoſt to his own mind; he has applied himſelf chiefly to know himſelf, and having tried as it were the ſhallowneſs of his own underſtanding, inſtead of pretending (as others do) to teach every thing, he profeſſes for himſelf, and undertakes to ſhow others that they underſtand nothing. In the midſt of the moſt plentiful feaſts, he practiſes a temperance almoſt equal to that which the rules of thy order enjoin thee; and while he converſes daily in the moſt promiſcuous and free manner, he is ſaid to preſerve an innocence in his life, and a

ſanctity in his manners, which retirement from the world ſcarcely ſecures to others. Thou wilt not wonder, if my curioſity has led me to converſe with him; nor is it difficult to have acceſs to one who ſpends moſt part of his time in the ſtreets and public places of this city. He received my addreſs in the ſame open and eaſy manner he does thoſe of all his countrymen; and by a ſimplicity of behaviour, and a variety of queſtions, which ſeemed to have no relation to what I propoſed to him, he ſoon brought me to give up, what I had before looked on as clear and indubitable, and made me own, that I was ignorant in thoſe very points, which before I imagined I had beſt underſtood. When he had put me out of conceit with my own opinions, I was deſirous to be let into and ſubmit to his; but whether it was that he really (as he profeſſed) entertained no certain ones, or whether he did not think it ſafe to commit them to one, who, beſide his being a ſtranger, might not appear worthy of his confidence, he declined giving me this ſatisfaction, and left me neither pleaſed with him or myſelf. The mind, which takes pleaſure in its ſearches after truth, yet is impatient, when convinced, that all its darling ſyſtems and prepoſſeſſions are falſe; and I foreſee, that a ſage, whoſe life and doctrines are a conſtant reproach to all he converſes with, will ſoon make his diſciples deſirous of freeing themſelves from ſo impertinent a monitor. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XLIX.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES. *From* Athens.

As I find nothing more agreeable, ORSAMES, during my reſidence at Athens, than the converſation of intelligent men, I endeavour to inform myſelf on ſubjects of literature and ingenuity, without neglecting the weightier buſineſs of my ſtation and character. It is not long ſince I troubled HYDASPES with an account of ſome curious particulars concerning the Grecian poets and hiſtorians, which I had gathered from a careful peruſal of their works, and the accurate relations of the learned. The humanity of my patron PHILEMON is never ſo much exerted to my advantage, as when he introduces me with his uſual politeneſs to the familiarity of perſons whoſe company I ſhould have made my choice, could I otherwiſe have hoped for it. To the kind recommendation of my friend it is wholly owing, that I am lately admitted to the acquaintance of THUCYDIDES, a man of ſuperior quality and wiſdom, by whoſe means I ſhall extend my inſight into the conſtitution of Greece in general, and the policy of Athens in particular. He was employed ſome years ago by the city in conducting a ſecond colony of Athenians to Thurium; and though he does not engage in the adminiſtration of public affairs, he hath ſerved in the armies of the ſtate, and made ſeveral campaigns. I am told, he is originally poſſeſſed of a fair

paternal inheritance, and is derived from a very noble family, both which are augmented by his marriage with a rich wife, the daughter of a king of Thrace. He ſeems however to conſider theſe happy circumſtances in life with the impartial eyes of a philoſopher, and values the former only as it enables him to diffuſe the effects of his benevolence; and the latter, as the memory of it perpetually excites him to emulate his anceſtors in virtue. At the ſame time, he is ſo far from thinking himſelf raiſed above the reſt of his countrymen, that he lives with all the elegant ſimplicity of an Athenian, while he enjoys the opulence of a Perſian ſatrap. His inſtitution in the ſtudy of eloquence and philoſophy hath been conformable to the nobility of his birth and fortune. In philoſophy, he was a ſcholar of ANAXAGORAS; in rhetoric, he was inſtructed by ANTIPHON, an orator of ſingular abilities, and revered by the people for his eloquence. If I may form a judgment of his ſentiments in government from the tenor of his diſcourſe, he appears leaſt of all to approve of a democracy. The generoſity of his temper makes him averſe from the envy and contention of demagogues; the ſteadineſs of his politics, from the inconſtancy of popular reſolutions; and the integrity of his heart, from the ſelfiſh counſels of thoſe who are willing to acquire or maintain an authority with the multitude. He could wiſh for a larger mixture of ariſtocracy in the Athenian commonwealth; and yet ſuch was his opinion of PERICLES, that, as long as he continued alive and in ſupreme

power, he uſed to ſay, "the adminiſtration "was nominally democratical, but in fact "monarchical." As he is pleaſed to indulge me in ſome ſhare of his confidence, I took the liberty to aſk him one day in private, "How "it happened, that he, who joins to great "natural endowments a ſurpriſing compaſs of "knowledge and long obſervation, had never "expreſſed any deſire to be placed at the helm "of the republic, nor had entered into the "artful management of popular aſſemblies." He anſwered me, "That he forbore coming "into the aſſembly, becauſe he would neither "be an acceſſary or a witneſs to their iniquitous "proceedings: That proſperity had infatuated "the minds of his unthinking countrymen; "and the only men who ruled them, were "thoſe who ſoothed them with fond hopes, "enflamed them by falſe notions, and put "them on chimerical ſchemes and hazardous "attempts; whereas he, who gave temperate "advice, was injuriouſly branded as a coward, "and thought ſo ignorant as not to underſtand, "or ſo malicious as to belie their power." He ſaid, "the trueſt and moſt ſhining merits were "looked upon as crimes againſt the ſtate; that "they never pardoned him who ſerved them "with talents which rendered him worthy "to command, and often deprived themſelves "of real advantages to ſhun an imaginary evil. "For my own part, (continued he,) I have "mingled ſo much of the diſintereſted philoſo-"pher with my republican principles, as to "abhor thoſe leaders of party, who croſs each

" other's counſels to the detriment of the whole;
" thoſe flatterers, who truckle to the humor
" of the people by the meaneſt and moſt flaviſh
" compliances; thoſe declaimers, who drive
" us into ſtrange undertakings, which their
" betters either dare not oppoſe, or, if they
" do, precipitately endanger their own ſafety.
" A prudent citizen therefore, when perſons
" of this kind bear ſway, will yield to the
" torrent of the times, without ſuffering himſelf
" to be loſt in the ſtream. He will wait for
" a fairer opportunity of engaging in the public
" buſineſs, or elſe not engage in it at all. He
" will not enter on the important office of a
" miniſter, uncalled to it by the general voice
" of his country. In a word, I have laid down
" theſe maxims to myſelf which the politicians
" of our days ſeem utterly to deſpiſe, *viz.* that
" a good man ſhould be ſo zealous in his re-
" gards for the community, as to exclude all
" thoſe that are perſonal, while a wiſe man
" remains indifferent in his choice of public
" or private life, but ſtudious to adorn both.
" Can you then wonder, (added he,) if I
" have rather employed myſelf in obſerving
" and recording what paſſes, than in directing
" and governing? And, to ſpeak ſincerely, it
" is with a view to the good of futurity, that
" I am now compiling a hiſtory of theſe times,
" and ſhall ſpare no expenſe of labor or money
" to procure fitting memoirs for the purpoſe.
" The Lacedæmonian archives, as well as the
" Athenian, will be ranſacked, that from the
" collections of each the ſeries of our tranſactions

" may be more impartially laid open; and
" however ſome men ſhall cenſure the manner
" of my writing, yet no man ſhall queſtion the
" truth of it. For it is not a work intended
" by way of oſtentation to the preſent age,
" but as a monument of inſtruction to our ſuc-
" ceſſors, as a legacy to all poſterity."

Struck with the greatneſs of the reply, it was impoſſible for me to forget, what I had often been told, of the generous ſpirit he diſcovered, and the memorable tears which he ſhed, on hearing the Muſes of HERODOTUS recited in a celebrated feaſt at Athens. I conſidered this deſign as a conſequence of the ſame emulation; nor could I avoid, on the one hand, congratulating the generations to come on that admirable hiſtory, which the abilities of my friend THUCYDIDES will hereafter produce into the world; nor was it unnatural to reflect with an honeſt indignation on the other, that while Greece is making large ſtrides in policy, and advancing in letters, Perſia too inglorioufly neglects the cultivation of both. The former, not content with her victories at Marathon and Salamis, is endeavouring to defeat us in that, which alone can immortalize the name of either: the latter, ſo far from being animated by a ſenſe of her ſhame, to retrieve the advantages ſhe has loſt, is diſregarding the judgment of futurity, and adding to their conqueſt by indolence. But let us hope that this, ORSAMES, may not long be our caſe! Let us publiſh an account of our actions to mankind, and not truſt to the partial repreſentation of the Greeks.

Let us plead our own cauſe before the equitable tribunal of poſterity; and though the progreſs of our arms hath been checked, yet let not the palm in hiſtory be taken from us. Adieu.

C.

LETTER L.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe, etc. From* Athens.

THE Athenians, noble ſcribe, are remarkable, amongſt their other diſtinguiſhing qualities, for the great eagerneſs with which they liſten after news. Thou mayeſt imagine, that this curioſity finds ſufficient employment by an account juſt arrived of a ſecond engagement between the Peloponneſian fleet and PHORMIO's ſquadron, in which the vaſt ſuperiority of number on the ſide of the former, balanced by the ſkill and bravery of the latter, has rendered the advantage and loſs nearly equal between both parties, as thou wilt be better able to judge from the following relation.

A reinforcement of twenty ſail were immediately fitted out here, at the preſſing inſtances of PHORMIO; but, inſtead of being ſent directly to him, were ordered to take Crete in their way, on a ſervice of no importance. They were detained ſo long at that iſland by contrary winds, that they were not able to join him till the battle was over.

In the mean time, BRASIDAS and CNEMUS put to ſea with a fleet of ſeventy ſail well appointed, and came to an anchor at Rhium of Achaia, whilſt PHORMIO and his twenty gallies were ſtationed at a port of the ſame name on the oppoſite ſhore. Theſe two harbours form the mouth of the Criſſæan gulph. The Peloponneſian commanders intended to bring the Athenians to an engagement within the gulph, before the reinforcement arrived. PHORMIO deſigned to avoid fighting, but, if that was not in his power, to engage them in the open ſea, where the dexterity of his ſailors, and the ſwiftneſs of his ſhips, would give him the advantage againſt their unwieldy veſſels and inexperienced ſeamen. After they had lain two or three days in this poſture, the Peloponneſians made a motion up the gulph with their whole fleet towards Naupactus; which obliged PHORMIO, much againſt his will, to follow them in order to ſave the place, which was too weak to make effectual reſiſtance. As ſoon as the admirals of the enemy ſaw the Athenian ſquadron engaged within the ſtrait, they gave the ſignal to their fleet to tack about and bear down upon them, which they did with ſuch vigor, that they drove ſeveral of the Athenian gallies againſt the ſhore, ſunk ſome, and made many priſoners. A body of Meſſenian troops in the ſervice of Athens, who were marching along the ſhore, behaved very bravely; for they entered the ſea with their arms, and recovered ſome of the ſhips that had been taken. In another part of the action, PHORMIO himſelf

puſhed out to ſea with eleven ſhips, and was chaſed by twenty Peloponneſian ones into the harbour of Naupactus. This experienced officer obſerving that they followed the chaſe very careleſsly, and either out of contempt of the Athenians, or believing the victory already their own, neglected to keep their line of battle, ſo that ſome of their ſhips were out of ſight, ordered the few gallies he had with him to turn their prows, and bear down directly on the enemy, himſelf leading the attack. This advantage was ſo well improved, that after ſome of the foremoſt Peloponneſian veſſels were diſabled, the reſt, frighted at ſo unexpected a turn, were put to flight, and ſix of them taken. PHORMIO and BRASIDAS have both erected trophies, though neither of them can juſtly lay claim to the victory. The ſhips from Crete are ſince arrived, and it is ſaid the Peloponneſian fleet is retired to Corinth. The officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt on the ſide of Athens, were ASOPIUS, the admiral's ſon, and NICIAS.

It is much cenſured as an error in CLEON and his party, the preſent managers of affairs, that they did not immediately furniſh PHORMIO with a force ſufficient to improve his firſt advantage, and remain maſter of the ſea. In all probability, if the twenty ſhips had not waſted ſo much of their time at Crete, this muſt have proved a very conſiderable ſucceſs for the Athenians. It has been a common ſaying amongſt them on this occaſion, that they are now thoroughly ſenſible that PERICLES is dead. The

laſt letters from Platæa mention, that the army of the allies under the command of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, being haraſſed out with the length of the ſiege, and the vigorous reſiſtance of the garriſon, have reſolved to encloſe the city with a ſtrong wall, fortified with ditches and towers on both ſides, to prevent as well the ſallies of the inhabitants within, as the entrance of any ſuccours from without; and that after having finiſhed this regular fortification, part of their forces will be left for the blockade of the town, and the reſt diſmiſſed.

I have now laid before thee, noble ſatrap, the preſent courſe of public occurrences; nor do I neglect to inform myſelf, as thou enjoineſt me, of the private intrigues of this city, and the ſecret ſprings that influence the counſels of this active republic. The adminiſtration of affairs, ſince the death of PERICLES, has lain principally in the hands of a party, who may be ſaid to delight in war; and though they have not the neceſſary talents for carrying on a regular and well-concerted ſcheme of military operations, yet they treat any one, who but ventures to name the word peace in their aſſemblies, as an enemy to his country, and a friend to Lacedæmon. They are a ſet of men compoſed of mercenary orators, and other factious citizens, who are enriched and aggrandized by a war, that impoveriſhes the reſt of the ſtate. Every general is obliged to pay his court to them, and to have a band of rhetoricians to defend him againſt the attacks of his enemies at home, whilſt he is fighting his country's

battles in the field. The allies make their applications to them, to recommend their cauſe to the people, to get their contributions leſſened, or an expedition undertaken in their behalf; though the immediate ſervice of the ſtate perhaps is neglected, and her armies rendered uſeleſs for want of ſupplies. CLEON is at the head of theſe worthy patriots; a man the more oppoſite to peace, becauſe in quiet times his own bad actions would appear, and the calumnies of others be leſs believed. He ſupports himſelf, not ſo much by the greatneſs of his abilities, as by the boldneſs of his undertakings, and the confidence of his aſſertions. He renders himſelf popular, not by the eaſe and humanity of his behaviour, but by the freedom and roughneſs of it; which is agreeable to the common ſort, whom he likewiſe gains over to his intereſt by frequently relieving their neceſſities. He carries his point in the aſſemblies, by an over-bearing vehement ſort of eloquence, accompanied with much action. There are however ſeveral who diſlike his character and meaſures, and oppoſe both with great freedom: the comic writers in particular do not ſpare him, but ſet him forth in the ſtrongeſt colors, that the copiouſneſs of their invention and the ſeverity of their ſatire will afford. Of late they have been employed in falling foul upon the memory of PERICLES, and repeating the plentiful collection of ſcandal, which the very mention of his name gives them room to diſplay.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging thy laſt letter: the gracious acceptance which my ſervices meet with, is far ſuperior to their merits, as well as my expectations. Permit me to indulge a little pardonable vanity, in reflecting, that I enjoy the honor of being ranked amongſt thy friends, and the meaneſt of the ſervants of ARTAXERXES. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LI.

HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Babylon.

THOUGH the riſe and preſervation, CLEANDER, of every great monarchy has been owing to the arts of war, yet at the ſame time it is certain, no ſtate could ſupport itſelf without the neceſſary improvements of peace. The wiſdom therefore of our conſtitution is in nothing more conſpicuous, than in the admirable care that is taken to make the culture of both mutually ſerve and promote each other [51]. Without this, the numberleſs forces of Perſia would over-run and depopulate the whole empire. But by a moſt exact and regular diſpoſition in every diſtrict of the provinces, the garriſons and ſtanding forces are maintained with very little burden to the country. The prefect of each diſtrict has a liſt of ſo many

[51] Xenoph. memorabil. lib. v. edit. Francof. p. 827. E. & p. 828.

horſe, ſhieldmen, or archers, which he is to find proviſion for, according to the fertility and produce of the lands within his diviſion. ARTAXERXES himſelf has every thing under his own inſpection; he frequently reviews the troops in one part or other of his dominions, and ſurveys the country at the ſame time, or employs thoſe he can confide in, to do it in places more remote. By this means he knows the ſtate of his armies, the ſtrength of his garriſons, and the condition of the ſeveral provinces. If the prefects fraudulently withhold what nature hath plentifully beſtowed, or if the land be not ſufficiently cultivated as far as the ſoil will bear, they are liable to be complained againſt by the officers of the army, or thoſe ſent to inſpect them, or to be diſcovered in the neglect of their duty by the king himſelf. Where naked and barren proſpects are by labor and induſtry converted into beautiful lawns and plantations, or the face of nature is in any ſort improved, the prefect of that diſtrict is ſure to receive ſome mark of the royal munificence, and the meaneſt laborer to enjoy the fruits of his induſtry. And wherever the troops are fitly choſen, well diſciplined, and handſomely equipped in their arms and other accoutrements, not only the commanding ſatrap, but every chiliarch and tribune, is diſtinguiſhed, as he hath ſhown his diligence in the faithful diſcharge of his truſt. By this means they are always found prepared, either for a military expedition, to form an encampment, or paſs in review before their

their ſovereign. This ſummer a large body of forces, draughted out from ſeveral provinces, is encamped in the plains of Babylon. The natural Perſians are twenty thouſand, who are honored with XERXES [52] for their chief, diſtinguiſhed from the Medes by their light targets and the faſhion of their ſleeves with ſtripes of various colors. The Median forces, a ſelect body, amount to twenty more. Thirty thouſand Aſſyrians with brazen helmets and linen corſlets are commanded by ARSITES. The Arii and Bactrians make ten thouſand, armed alike, except that the former have Median bows [53]; their general is BAGAPÆUS [54], the emperor's ſon by ANDIA, a Babyloniſh lady, and uterine brother to PARISATIS, a gallant young prince, who hath been trained to arms under ARASPES, the brave ſatrap of Bactria. The Ciſſij, with the Sagartians, and borderers upon the Erythræan ſea, conſtitute twenty thouſand. The Sagartians and thoſe people in the tributary diviſions are reckoned to the province of Perſia; the proper Perſians being, as you know, exempted from all tribute [55]. The Sagartians wear a brigantine of leathern thongs cloſely entwined together, and carry nets, which they make uſe of in an engagement with great dexterity. The reſt are armed much after the Perſian manner, in ſcaly corſlets, and with the ſame

[52] He was the prince royal of Perſia.
[53] Herod. Polymn. c. 65.
[54] Excerpt. ex Cteſiæ Perſic. c. 48.
[55] Herod. Thal. c. 97.

defenſive weapons; but the habits of their chiefs are enriched with topazes from the oriental iſles adjoining. Among them are a body of the Chelænophagi, whoſe mails are curiouſly formed of the ſhells of tortoiſes. Sogdianus has the command of five thouſand Caſpians and Paricanians, who make a barbarous appearance in the hides of ſhaggy goats, and are armed with bows and daggers. Artasyras, who by Ochus's intereſt was lately appointed ſatrap of the greater Armenia, is preſent with ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe from the territories lying at the head of the Euphrates, and between the Araxes and the Cyrus. A ſplendid tent was ſet up for Ochus, and he is expected here with a large detachment of the Hyrcanians; but he ſtopped ſhort with twenty brigades in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana, to prevent, as is ſuppoſed, a ſecond riſing of the Caduſians, which may be the more ſuſpected, as the choiceſt part of the Median forces was draughted for this encampment. Ten thouſand Syrians are quartered round Megabyzus's pavilion, armed with ſhort ſpears, javelins, and daggers, and greaves that cover only half the leg [56]. Five thouſand Arabians, habited in their looſe mantles of Indian ſilk, with long bows [57], are placed in the rear of the camp, that their camels may not annoy their horſes. Amidſt theſe various multitudes, the greateſt regularity and order are preſerved through all the ranks. The city of Babylon,

[56] Herod. Polym. c. 85. [57] Id. c. 87.

which delights in ſhows and pomp, was much entertained with the grand parade, when ARTAXERXES went to meet his camp. The magi led the proceſſion in their ſcarlet robes, carrying the holy fire upon a ſilver hearth. After them came the empty chariot crowned with garlands and drawn by white ſteeds with harneſſes of gold, which is ſacred to OROMASDES, and an emblem of his preſence with us. A ſingle horſe came next, of the largeſt breed of Hyrcania in honor to the ſun, and the leaders had white garments with ſtaffs of gold. Then a thouſand of the band of Immortals, with their golden chains and veſts of rich brocades ſet off with Indian gems, followed by the order called the Royal Kindred; after them the body-guard, who are diſtinguiſhed by the golden apples upon their pikes. The chief ſatraps and princes of the blood attended about the perſon of ARTAXERXES, who rode in an ivory chariot, richly inlaid with amethyſts and rubies upon ſilver and gold plates curiouſly emboſſed with emblematic figures. From behind, a ſculptured eagle, more dazzling than the car itſelf, ſpread its wings over the monarch's head [58]. A thouſand ſpearmen cloſed the proceſſion. The tent of ARTAXERXES ſtands conſpicuous on a riſing ground near the centre of the camp, with the image of the ſun in a caſe of cryſtal over it. The ladies of the court complain of their being left out in this proceſſion, who have in every ſignal expedition attended the camp.

[58] Quint. Curt.

They threaten to appear ſoon in Amazonian dreſſes, and try the courage of ſome in diſtinction there, ſince moſt of the younger ſatraps, who were noted for their effeminate delicacy, have upon this occaſion aſſumed a martial air. Theſe jeſts have revived the memory of the ancient Sacian women, who, in the reign of their queen ZARINA, about the time of ARTIBARNAS, father to ASTYAGES, joined in a revolt of the Parthi, and extremely diſtreſſed the Medes. And ſome fine interludes, intermixed, after our manner, with ſinging and dances, have been played in the royal apartments, founded upon the ſtory of that heroine, and the adventure of the Mede STRYAGLIUS with the Sacian lady [59], whom he had thrown from her horſe, and conceived ſuch a violent paſſion for, that meeting with a repulſe in his firſt addreſſes, he pretended to ſtarve himſelf, and by that artifice worked upon the compaſſion of his miſtreſs. A party of the court ladies, with the queen-mother and AMYTIS, were lately at an entertainment in MEGABYZUS's tent, and paſſed through the camp in a cedar carriage with the curtains of their pavilion undrawn, attended by INTAPHERNES and five hundred of the Immortals. MEGABYZUS performs all the duties of a general, and excites an emulation among the troops in their military exerciſes, by his frequent preſence among them. But to the great concern of all his friends,

[59] Ex Cteſ. Perſ. fragment. ap. Demetr. Phaler. in libro, qui περὶ ἑρμηνείας vocatur.

though the vigor of his mind be ſtill the ſame, yet in his bodily ſtrength he ſeems daily declining. APOLLONIDES of Cos, who is in great favor with ARTAXERXES, exerts his utmoſt ſkill to prolong a life ſo valuable to Perſia. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LII.

CLEANDER *to* SMERDIS.

I HAVE of late been engaged in ſome converſations with the ſages of this place, which have more than once brought to my mind thoſe delightful ſolitudes, where thou, abſtracted from every other care and avocation, enjoyeſt as it were the preſence of the great OROMASDES, and illuminations, which, though no leſs important than thoſe vouchſafed to the favored ZOROASTER, thou in divine conference haſt communicated to me. Not many furlongs from the city, in the midſt of a ſpacious meadow, which is almoſt ſurrounded with the clear and ſmooth ſtream of the river Iliſſus, there is a ſtadium not ſo remarkable for its ornaments and grandeur, as its antiquity and ſituation, it was built in the early ages of this republic, and ſtill retains its primitive rudeneſs and ſimplicity. A grove of trees coeval at leaſt to the ſtructure, whoſe trunks appear like huge pillars to ſupport a thick and verdurous roof, are planted on one ſide; and through them the cool breezes, which ariſe from the river, and

are perfumed by numberleſs flowers that adorn its banks, give a freſhneſs amidſt the ſcorching heats, which we now feel, and form a retreat the moſt agreeable that can be imagined. It is for this, that the philoſophers of Athens with their diſciples frequently exchange the Academy and Lycæum; and as I have more than once been admitted to the conferences that are held here; thou wilt not, I fancy, be diſpleaſed to partake in them alſo. It is true, I have ſometimes been but indifferently entertained. Some of the firſt and higheſt reputation among theſe philoſophers have little true and ſolid knowledge even of thoſe ſciences they profeſs. Many, who ſet up for maſters of natural truths, are either greatly ignorant of, or entirely miſtake the firſt principles on which they are built. Others there are, who are called teachers of eloquence, but are not able to give any proof of their being ſo, others, who diſpenſe out leſſons of wiſdom, not from any ſtock of their own, but founded on the authority and maxims of their anceſtors. But what above all moves my indignation is, that, without any experience of the world, any inſight into policy, they all take upon them to inſtruct their ſcholars in the arts of government, in the conduct of public affairs, and the enacting of fit and neceſſary laws. It is true, that theſe pretenders to ſcience but too frequently meet here one, who, as he is much ſuperior to them in all parts of learning, ſeems animated with a particular zeal to deſtroy their ill-grounded pretences to it. It is not unuſual to ſee them put to a

precipitate and ſhameful retreat by this great champion of truth; and indeed it is impoſſible to conceive the deep wiſdom and true reaſoning, that are concealed under the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the rude mechanic [60]. As he has a peculiar art of illuſtrating what he treats on, ſo he has alſo of expoſing what may be on inſufficient grounds admired by others. By abundance of apt compariſons, and by a moſt extenſive induction of known and familiar topics, he at once opens and convinces the minds of his hearers. Nor need I after this deſcription tell thee, that I ſpeak of SOCRATES, in whom if there is any thing that I blame, it is his too great reſerve, and his rather laboring to make thoſe with whom he converſes unlearn what is wrong, than to inſtruct them in what is right. In one of our converſations one day, after he had put to flight a whole army of the ſophiſts, and only one or two friends were left, I was led to expreſs my ſurpriſe and concern, that he, who was ſo capable, and ſeemed ſo ready, to teach men true knowledge, would yet be ſo backward in this godlike employment. I even ſaid, "that it ſeemed ungenerous, and incon-"ſiſtent with his uſual benevolence, to be ſo "ſevere, as I had ſometimes known him, on "thoſe, whoſe greateſt fault was perhaps only "to be too ready to teach, while he, who "was capable of doing it, would not enter "upon this province." He received my reproof with his uſual humanity, and after ſome

[60] SOCRATES was bred a ſculptor.

pauſe, ſaid; "Were I really, my friend, what "you would kindly ſuppoſe me, capable of "inſtructing mankind, yet ſure I am, that you "and all wiſe men would judge the worſe of "me if I ſhould venture to proclaim it. It "has hitherto been the chief buſineſs of my "life, to confute and ſhow the folly of theſe "vain ſcioliſts: and ſhould I not expoſe myſelf "to the contempt of thoſe, who are ſo con-"temptible, if I ſhould engage in their taſk, "and take upon me to dictate on points, which "I am ſenſible are not only out of my reach, "but even beyond that of human capacity? "It is true, that I have endeavoured, as far "as I am able, to cultivate and improve my "faculties. I own I have uſed my utmoſt "induſtry in acquiring knowledge; and as "truth and ſcience have hitherto been, ſo I "am perſuaded they ever will be, the ſcope "and object of my life to come. But alas! "ſo far am I from having arrived at what I "aim at, that I am daily convinced I never "ſhall. I am ſatisfied, that I know nothing "perfectly; the experience of each day con-"vinces me of the folly of the concluſions I "made the foregoing; and upon the matureſt "conſideration I am brought to conclude, that "the probable is all we can ever arrive at "in our reſearches. What can I do better "therefore, or how can I be more uſefully "employed, than in endeavouring to take men "off from thoſe idle and fruitleſs purſuits after "certainty, which I am convinced they never "will find? Nor does this hinder me from

" tracing out, and even depending upon ſome
" great and fundamental points. And if thou
" wouldſt know what it is that appears to me
" the moſt probable, I anſwer, ſeeſt thou the
" great frame of the univerſe, and haſt thou
" conſidered the various and wonderful in-
" ſtances of wiſdom and contrivance that are
" diſplayed in every part of it; and canſt thou
" doubt of its being the work of ſome all-wiſe
" and all-powerful cauſe? Can ſo much uſe
" and beauty, ſo much magnificence and deſign,
" ſo much regularity and order, ſtrike us on
" the contemplation of nature, and we not
" own the Author of nature? Can ſo many
" beings exiſt, and there be no cauſe of their
" exiſtence? No, it is impoſſible not to trace
" and acknowledge plain and evident marks
" of a Deity, who formed and directs this
" wondrous machine. It muſt be that we are
" all under his government, that we are pro-
" duced for ſome great purpoſes; and when
" we diſcover, that not the moſt minute and
" inſignificant atom, which we ſee, but has
" its uſes, and ſerves its peculiar ends, we
" muſt conclude, that man, the nobleſt work
" of the creation, muſt alſo have his. Hence
" then am I led to inquire and conſider, what
" are and what ought to be the great duties
" of my life. I try the extent of my own and
" others capacity. I endeavour to fathom their
" underſtandings. I examine into the end of
" our actions, how they may affect ourſelves
" or others. I find a light as it were and guide
" placed in my breaſt, which, if diligently

" attended to, directs me in all important " occurrences. I am satisfied, that man is not " born for himself only, but for the service of " others, and that there is a law, which directs " all to the practice of what is just, and good, " and true, planted in every man's breast; that " human laws only enforce this, and bind it " upon bad men; that the good are not in- " fluenced by them, and he that attends has " no need of any other obligation than what " arises from hence. Nay further, when I " consider the nature and formation of man, " and that all we learn seems to be little more " than recollecting what we have been apprized " of, I conclude, that we have existed in some " other state. And if we have lived before, " still it is more likely (considering the passionate " desire we have after knowledge, and how " impossible it is to satisfy it in this state) that " we are designed for, and shall exist in, " another. But I refrain from indulging in " this, which to thee may appear a visionary " and idle speculation, however probable and " rational it may seem to me." Here he ended, and I would gladly have engaged him in a more particular discussion of what he had advanced. He, on the contrary, desired my sentiments, which, not only out of modesty, but prudence, thou wilt imagine I declined giving; and so our conversation broke up. I went away convinced, that the notices of the great Oromasdes are wonderfully displayed throughout the whole universe, and that the

ſublimeſt truths are eaſily diſcoverable, when men make a proper uſe of that moſt valuable emanation from him, *Reaſon*.

R.

LETTER LIII.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Heliopolis.

THE Nile is now riſen to its greateſt height, and the country in every part fills the eye of a traveller with wonder and delight, and affords the moſt joyful proſpect to the inhabitants of Ægypt. From a pyramid in this town I ſurveyed the diſtant ſurface, where lawns, and fields, and gardens lay undiſtinguiſhed in one fluid plain; the taller foreſts waving in the midſt of waters, and the ſtately piles of Memphis and the neighbouring towns, with the adjacent pyramids ſcattered like rocks and iſlands, to diverſify the charming ſcene. You ſee in every place life and motion, the inhabitants paſſing continually hither for buſineſs or pleaſure, in boats or barges upon the water, or over the banks and cauſeways from town to town. The further mountains of Libya riſe like a diſtant continent ſeen off at ſea; the nearer ones, that are continued along the banks of the Nile from the upper Thebais, begin here to open and ſpread away to the Eaſt, and preſent the moſt raviſhing landſcape of hills and precipices, intermixed with lawns and

woods, where the cattle graze during the inundation. My happening to come down from Syene, about the time that the banks were to be laid open, contributed much, with the natural cheerfulneſs of the country, to render my tour agreeable. Upon this occaſion there are certain ceremonies obſerved with great ſolemnity and rejoicing: and the prefects of the greater diſtricts uſually viſit all the chief towns through the ſeveral nomes they preſide over, at the cutting of the banks, and are preſent at the ſolemn feſtivals held upon that occaſion; which they eaſily may, a regular cuſtom being obſerved of beginning from the veins of the Nile, and ſo proceeding gradually down the country as the inundation directs them. Above Thebes ſeldom any but the prieſts themſelves attend. Of this cuſtom PHARNUCES took no notice, when I parted from him to ſee the cataracts, and thought to have paſſed unobſerved the whole way back to Heliopolis; but about the midway to Thebes upon my return, at a town called Cnubis, which is named from the ſame god CNEPH, who is worſhipped at Syene, I met a ſplendid galley, which waited there for my reception to conduct me to PHARNUCES. When I had landed at the palace, which fronts to the water, he, ſaluting me with his uſual civility, ſaid, you are returned, ORSAMES, very opportunely to ſee the ceremonies that are performed at the cutting of the banks; and I ſhall accompany you myſelf part of your way, if you will not think it too great a delay to grace my parade.

This year the river is riſen ſixteen cubits, which promiſes a plentiful increaſe. The next morning the gallies were early before the palace; and having taken a ſhort repoſe, we ſet out not long after ſun-riſing. As ſoon as the oars touched the water, a concert ſtruck up of Perſian and Ægyptian muſic, and every thing contributed to make our paſſage delightful; the ſerenity of the air, the brightneſs of the morning, and the calm ſurface of the water reflecting the early beams [61], and interſperſed with flowers of the lotus, reſembling a bed of lilies. In every place that we ſtopped at, a black bull with much ceremony was ſacrificed to the Nile. We arrived the day after at Coptos, an ancient emporium for Indian and Arabian commodities [62]. The city ſtands a little removed from the Nile, but has its keys and warehouſes to the river. Here Isis [63], they ſay, received the firſt tidings of the death of Osiris, and cut off a lock of her hair for grief, which gave occaſion to the city being called Coptos, implying in the Ægyptian language *Privation*. From this town they tranſport their merchandize by camels to the Portus Albus, for Arabia and the Indian iſles. Southward from which, along the ſhore of the Arabian gulf, are the famous mountains where they dig for carbuncles. Below Coptos, on the oppoſite ſide, ſtands This, the metropolis once of a very powerful dynaſty, but now comprehended in the lower Thebais. And

[61] Herod. Euterp. c. 92.
[62] Plin. lib. v. c. 9.
[63] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

here we could diſcern at a diſtance the ruins of Abydos, [64], one of the royal ſeats of MEMNON. Next is the town of VENUS and the city of the Crocodiles. Then on the eaſtern ſide Chemmis, which boaſts of PERSEUS's original: his temple is there encompaſſed in a grove of palm trees, with a ſtately portico of large maſſy columns of porphyrite; in which are two Coloſſal ſtatues, and the image of PERSEUS within [65]. The prieſts pretend, that the deity ſometimes manifeſts himſelf to them, which is always taken for a good omen, and forebodes great plenty to Ægypt. DANAUS and LYNCEUS, who went into Greece, were, they ſay, of Chemmis; and from them they reckon the deſcent of PERSEUS, who coming into Ægypt to bring thither the Gorgon's head out of Libya, viſited that place, having been informed by his mother of his relation to it, and inſtituted there thoſe athletic games to her honor and his own, which were alſo celebrated in Greece; and the two Coloſſal ſtatues before the temple are his great progenitors DANAUS and LYNCEUS. The particular ceremonies which I ſaw practiſed every where, would be as tedious to relate, as the various diſcourſe our voyage furniſhed about the cauſes of the Nile's inundation. THALES the Mileſian, mentioned in one of your letters, who is remembered here with great veneration, accounted for it by the Eteſian winds blowing againſt the mouths of the Nile at this ſeaſon. But though that does not ſeem

64 Strabo. 65 Herod. Eut. c. 91.

to be a ſufficient cauſe, ſince the ſame would probably then happen to other rivers, where the like winds are known to blow; yet whatever other cauſes may ſupply ſuch quantity of water, whether melted ſnow from the mountains of Æthiopia when the ſun comes over them, or great rains falling in remote countries, yet theſe winds may contribute to make the overflow more regular and laſting, as they are a balance to the waters, and prevent them from running off into the ſea, till they have ſufficiently fertilized the land. At the ancient city of Antæus I parted from PHARNUCES, who deſired that one of his barges might attend me to Memphis: but as I could no longer enjoy the ſame agreeable company, I deſired to proceed the reſt of my journey in a more private manner. The moſt extraordinary part of the ceremonies I ſaw performed at Nilopolis, a city at the lower end of the iſland of the Heracleotic nome [66]. While the prieſts were ſacrificing to the Nile, we ſaw of a ſudden ſix youths in a ſtrange dreſs of a ſea-green color advancing towards us, pretended to be juſt come up from a deep chaſm in the adyta of the temple. They joined in the ſolemnities, ſinging the praiſes of the Nile, and reciting the benefit that their country received from the overflow of its waters; which was to them [67] their land and water, their lakes and ſea. Then

[66] Videſis Serv. in Georg. lib. iv. v. 364. ſpeluncſque lacus clauſos.

[67] Achilles Tatius.

the prieſts ſolemnly told us, that theſe their ſons were in their infancy delivered to the nymphs, and had been educated by them ever ſince, and bid them declare what they had learnt in thoſe ſubterranean abodes concerning the nature of the Nile. The youths, who were inſtructed in their anſwers, gave a fabulous account concerning the internal ſtructure of the earth, and deſcribed to us lakes and oceans that are below the ſame, as above the ſurface; and the great rivers that are loſt under-ground, and by hidden channels in the depths of the earth conveyed from place to place, till at length they riſe again in diſtant climates. And thus they affirmed, that they themſelves had ſeen the Nile in a contrary hemiſphere [68], removed from ours by a whole diameter of the globe; and that the river loſing itſelf in a great gulf, was carried through various ducts and windings within the vaſt abyſs, till at laſt it roſe again, and guſhed out at the two rocks by Syene, dividing its ſtreams from thence to Æthiopia and Ægypt. I conſidered this as a philoſophical conjecture of the prieſts, who are much puzzled themſelves about the ſource of the Nile, worked up with theſe fabulous circumſtances to diſguiſe their ignorance, and impoſe upon the vulgar. From Nilopolis I could diſcern the towers and obeliſks of Memphis, and the ſummit of the temple of the ſun, which crowns this city, and ſtands conſpicuous above the other buildings, though Heliopolis and Memphis

[68] Pompon. Mela, c. 10.

both

both are raiſed by artificial moles a great height above the waters. The mythological doctrines about the divinity of the Nile, which I have learnt among the prieſts of this college, are no leſs ſtrange and confuſed, than thoſe about its origin juſt before-mentioned [69]. Nile they call OSIRIS, and the land ISIS, and the ſultry heat, which would deſtroy the fruits of the earth, unleſs the ſoil were fertilized by the inundation, they ſymbolize under the name of TYPHON. NEPTHE is the highlands, which the floods of the Nile ſeldom reach, and is ſaid to be TYPHON's wife, becauſe they are commonly parched with heat. If the floods of the Nile happen at any time to reach theſe highlands, then there commonly grow ſome few water plants cauſed by the inundation, and theſe they reckon an uncommon product, and call them Anubis. And they hint all this in the following fable; they ſay OSIRIS begat of his wife ISIS a legitimate child called ORUS, and that he committed adultery with NEPTHE the wife of TYPHON, and had by her the baſtard ANUBIS. Thus I may call the religion of the prieſts in general a mythological collection or ſyſtem of ancient ſtories, poetically diſguiſed, and applied under different acceptations, to allegorize the ſeveral phenomena of nature. Adieu.

L.

[69] Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſir.

LETTER LIV.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

THE Athenians are ſcarcely recovered from the greateſt conſternation they have been in during the whole courſe of the war. Whilſt they enjoyed an imaginary ſecurity, and fancied that the Peloponneſian allies were retired into winter quarters, an enterpriſe was formed, which had nearly proved their deſtruction, almoſt before they could perceive the blow was ſtruck. It was nothing leſs than a deſign to ſurpriſe the port Piræus, their great arſenal and harbour, which, by a ſtrange negligence, was unfurniſhed with gallies to meet an invader, or a chain to keep them from entering. The firſt circumſtance which made them ſuſpect their danger, was an advice brought them, that a large body of marines was marched over land from Corinth to Niſæa, a port of the Megaræans, juſt oppoſite to the Piræus; and that forty gallies were ready to be launched there upon the firſt order. But as in popular aſſemblies, the multiplicity of opinions that are ſtarted tends rather to confound than direct their counſels, they ſpent their time in debating what the deſign of the enemies ſhould be, when they ought to have been preparing to oppoſe it. The Peloponneſian fleet in the mean time, inſtead of ſailing towards the Piræus, according to their firſt ſcheme, turned off to Salamis, ſurpriſed a fort, took three guard-ſhips, and

waſted the iſland. This alteration of their meaſures, whether occaſioned by a contrary wind, or ſome diſſenſions among their generals, proved the ſafety of the Athenians, who being alarmed to the higheſt degree by the ſignals of danger made from Salamis, put a ſtrong garriſon in Piræus, and fitted out ſome gallies with all haſte, with which they ſailed to obſerve the motions of their enemies. The Peloponneſians being informed of thoſe preparations, and not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to venture an engagement, returned to Niſæa. Now the danger is paſt, the Athenians are buſily employed in ſhutting up the entrance of the harbour with a chain, and fitting out ſome ſhips to keep guard without.

The ſiege of Platæa is turned into a blockade; the Peloponneſians have drawn lines round the city, which are looked upon to be a very fine piece of fortification. They conſiſt of a double encloſure; one towards Platæa, to oppoſe the ſallies of the beſieged, and another towards the country, to prevent the Athenians from throwing in ſupplies. The diſtance between theſe encloſures, which is ſixteen feet, is taken up with towers, where the ſoldiers employed in the blockade are quartered. There is alſo a deep ditch filled with water, that is carried round the work.

Thou muſt already be informed of the war juſt broke out between PERDICCAS, king of Macedon, and SITALCES, king of Thrace, in which the Athenians are auxiliaries to the latter; and have engaged to ſend a fleet to

ſupport him in his project of ſetting AMYNTAS, the ſon of PHILIP, brother to PERDICCAS, on his uncle's throne. The Thracian monarch has raiſed a very numerous army, not leſs than one hundred and fifty thouſand men, out of his own ſubjects, and the nations his allies. He is marched at the head of it to invade Macedon, carrying along with him the young AMYNTAS, whom he treats as a king. PERDICCAS, ſenſible of his inability to keep the field againſt ſo ſuperior a force, has thrown the beſt of his infantry into his ſtrongeſt places, and contents himſelf with haraſſing the enemy, defending the paſſes, and laying waſte the country, to deprive them of ſubſiſtence by means of his cavalry, which are excellent. SITALCES has notwithſtanding made a conſiderable progreſs already. Womene, a frontier town, which ventured to ſtand a ſiege, he carried by ſtorm; and ſeveral others, as Mygdonia, Griſtonia, and Anthemus, have ſurrendered without oppoſition, out of regard to the memory of PHILIP, whoſe inheritance they once were. The Athenians think it a very ſeaſonable and uſeful diverſion; for they are well aſſured, that the Macedonian king was on the point of entering a ſecond time into the confederacy againſt them, if this war had not reduced him to a ſtate of ſelf-defence.

I am next, noble ſcribe, to open to thee an affair, which I enter upon with no ſmall reluctance, as well upon account of the perſon it concerns, whoſe fortunes, honor, and life will be nearly affected by what I ſhall lay

before thee, as becauſe I am ſenſible, how unwilling the humanity of thy temper renders thee to reveal what muſt prejudice another, and how ſtrongly at the ſame time thy ſingular fidelity muſt be moved at any act of treachery in thoſe that approach the ſacred perſon of the king. To detain thee no longer in ſuſpenſe, I have diſcovered a treaſonable correſpondence of SACAS, the eunuch, chamberlain to the women's apartment, which I came to the knowledge of in the following manner: Upon PERICLES's death, the papers and letters relating to public affairs, which he had in his poſſeſſion, were ordered by a decree of the ſenate to be depoſited in the archives of the ſtate. I found means to obtain a ſight of them from the ſcribe of the aſſembly, in whoſe hands they were depoſited; and thou mayeſt imagine how ſurpriſed I was, to diſcover amongſt them a correſpondence between PERICLES and SACAS, which began the year after the peace made with CIMON, and continued ever ſince with little interruption. Thou canſt remember, that ſoon after that peace was ſigned, the Athenians ſent ambaſſadors to the Perſian court, who, as it appears from theſe letters, engaged this unfortunate eunuch in the intereſt of Athens. He makes ſtrong profeſſions in his letters, that nothing could have engaged him in the ſervice, but the remembrance of his Grecian extraction; for thou knoweſt he was ſtolen from the coaſt of Eubœa by Phœnician pirates, who infeſted the Ægean ſea. His letters chiefly turn upon the news and ordinary occurrences of the court; but there

is no one point which he inculcates more ſtrongly, than the advantages which Greece may gain by exciting the Grecian provinces to revolt, and the facility of putting any ſuch project in execution. He repreſents, that to erect principalities in the heart of the Perſian dominions, under the protection of the Grecian ſtates, would be the ſureſt barrier for the latter againſt any attempt of the former: that moſt of the governors would want very little encouragement to ſet up for themſelves; ſome conſcious of their own mal-adminiſtration, others incited from motives of diſappointed ambition, or private injuries: that the people, haraſſed with taxes, and groaning under an oppreſſive government, would readily join in the revolt; eſpecially if fair offers of liberty and Grecian protection were laid before them. He names ARGESTES, the late governor of Lydia, and MAZEUS, the governor of Phrygia, as particularly inclined to revolt: that the latter he was well acquainted with, and knew that five hundred talents, and a ſquadron of Athenian ſhips, would at any time bring him into the field. In one of his letters he uſes the following remarkable expreſſions: "When once "the fire of ſedition is kindled, and blown "up into a flame, it will ſpread from one "province to another, from the frontiers to the "centre of the empire. The Medes themſelves "may perhaps make a bold ſtruggle to recover "the monarchy of Aſia; for I do not ſay it "without good foundation, many of our ſatraps "cannot forget that the blood of PHRAORTES

" and ASTYAGES runs in their veins." The traitor, not contented with diſcloſing the counſels of Perſia, would involve the whole empire in blood and confuſion, and overturn the throne of that prince, by whoſe goodneſs his fortunes were rendered not only eaſy but ſplendid, and himſelf raiſed from a ſtate of ſervitude to a ſtation near the royal perſon. The execrable treaſon of SACAS, illuſtrious miniſter, ſhould be puniſhed with the moſt exemplary ſeverity, and tranſmitted down to our poſterity in the ſame ſtriking manner with the practices of ARTHMIUS of Zelis againſt Athens. That ſubtle emiſſary was ſent into Greece with large ſums of money to foment the diviſions of Athens and Sparta; but his intrigues being diſcovered, a brazen column was erected in the citadel of this city, and the following inſcription engraven upon it by a decree of the people:

" ARTHMIUS of Zelis, the ſon of PYTHONAX, " is declared infamous and accurſed, a public " enemy of Athens and her allies, for having " brought the gold of Media into Peloponneſus; " and let all his poſterity be involved in this " execration."

P.

LETTER LV.

CLEANDER *to* HIPPIAS.

I ENGAGED lately in converſation with an Athenian, on the ſubject of the extraordinary victories obtained by Greece over XERXES and his generals. Surely, ſaid I, there muſt be ſome ſecret enchantment in the ſound of liberty, which could inſpire a handful of men with reſolution enough to oppoſe, and even defeat, the formidable millions of Aſia. A free people, anſwered he, will always borrow courage from deſpair. In that important juncture, the Grecians had nothing to expect but from their own valor, and every thing to fear from the power of their enemies. Inured from their infancy to the toils of war, and the cultivation of a barren ſoil, they were eaſily enabled, from a ſort of conſtitutional vigor, to overcome the effeminate voluptuaries of the eaſt. Well educated in an honeſt ſimplicity of manners, they deſpiſed and bore up againſt the terrible menaces of oppreſſion. An undaunted greatneſs of mind is incompatible with ſervile reſtraint or timorous dependance, and the name of country cannot warm the heart of thoſe who enjoy none. What reaſon has a ſlave to be prodigal of life? Does the event of a battle, deciſive to the intereſts of his lord, grow doubtful? Unconcerned for the iſſue of the day, he either ſurrenders to the enemy at diſcretion, or endeavours to fly from the danger.

As he has no reputation to lose, he considers that he has none to hope for. He is sensible, that he exposes himself only for the security of a tyrant; nor can he expect those rewards which are the proper attendants on virtue. To such an one, a change of governors seems absolutely indifferent, nay, rather desirable; since he may entertain thoughts of bettering his condition under a new master, from the impossibility that it can ever be altered for the worse under any. But who is he, that can rightly be prodigal of life? It is the inhabitant of a commonwealth, one jealous of his fame and his freedom, and justly preferring death with honor to life with ignominy. As he is an happy man, the apprehension of a change alarms him; he prudently guards against the approach of it, and bravely defends his own and the public welfare in opposing it. He then becomes a benefactor to the state, and the gratitude of the state is his due; a gratitude unmixed with the base alloy of envy, and flowing from the hearts of his citizens. The subjects of the king of Persia — Methinks, said I, interrupting him, I know your sentiment before you utter it; but will not the munificence of the king of Persia toward the vassals who distinguish themselves in his service, make amends for liberty, and prove as strong an inducement to the laudable exercise of valor? Besides this, the awe of his power is a spur to action, no where to be found in a free republic. — You are mistaken, answered he; laws, as they are steady and uniform, command a more sacred

reverence than arbitrary power. The Greeks know what penalties they incur in offending againſt the conſtitution of their country: the Aſiatics are in a precarious ſubjection to the humor of a maſter; and thoſe obey with pleaſure, but theſe with reluctance. It was not intended by Providence, that the human race ſhould ſuffer itſelf to be loaded with the ſhackles of oppreſſion; and the tempers of a people muſt be long and painfully broken to it, before they can be able to bear it; for nature in this, as well as other inſtances, is apt to recoil ſtubbornly on the man who warps it. True valor is only the companion of liberty; hence is it, that the Grecians in the field of battle are animated by an eagerneſs to defend their deareſt poſſeſſions, which raiſes their courage in the very criſis when it is moſt wanted. The ſlaves of Perſia are preſſed on to fight by the iron rod of arbitrary chaſtiſement, which extinguiſhes every ſpark of their courage, while they are engaging in a ſcene of action that requires their utmoſt. In a word, the fear of puniſhment can never maintain its ground againſt the generous enthuſiaſm of freedom; ſince it is not the power of a prince which can force, but it is every man's zeal for his own preſervation, which muſt excite to the efforts of valor. Lives there a Grecian inſenſible that the intereſt of individuals is contained in that of the whole? No, and it is the ſenſe of this truth, which puts every individual on contributing to ſecure the whole. This principle, CLEANDER, is more extenſive in its influence, than the moſt powerful

monarch of the earth; and the ſpirit of liberty will exert itſelf to defend the enjoyments of liberty. — Here my Athenian ended, and I made no reply. The blood roſe into my countenance upon hearing his reproaches: I was vexed at his diſregard for the conſtitution of Perſia, but afraid to betray my peculiar attachment to it. I excuſed my confuſion, however, by telling him, that I had forgot ſome buſineſs, which was the cauſe of it, and appointed to give him another meeting. Forgive, deareſt Hippias, the weakneſs of thy brother, if he was much troubled at the ſeverity of theſe reflections; yet why ſhould he blame their ſeverity, when, alas! he had more reaſon to be troubled at the truth of them? Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LVI.

Cleander *to* Hippias.

The next day I ſaw my friend again, and we reſumed the ſubject of liberty. If I miſake not, ſaid I to him, you ſeemed to think, the laſt time I converſed with you, that a man of merit could never be ſure of his reward under a monarch; that he was in a precarious ſubjection, as you expreſſed it, to the humor of a maſter: but can any thing be more capricious than the favor of a popular ſtate? In Athens, let an honeſt citizen have done any extraordinary ſervice to-day, he knows not but he may be

baniſhed for it to-morrow. And foraſmuch as the mind of a multitude is more flux and variable than the temper of a prudent prince, a dependance on the eſteem of the former muſt be much more uncertain, than a confidence in the goodneſs of the latter: beſides, the jealouſies and particular intereſts of private perſons will frequently make a great impreſſion on the inclinations of a whole community. Is the military glory of THEMISTOCLES to be diſgraced, the political wiſdom of PERICLES deſpiſed, or the upright integrity of ARISTIDES reviled? The whimſical *many*, who weigh none of their reſolutions in the ſcale of reaſon, fall naturally in with the propoſition. Theſe admired miniſters are degraded, and exiled from their country. For what? To make room for the very dregs and refuſe of the people; to admit mere demagogues inſtead of able politicians, and to exchange the true prudence and ſound eloquence of the one, for the ſhallow ſchemes and falſe oratory of the other. — The law of oſtraciſm, anſwered he, which you would inſinuate to be ſo baneful to the Athenian intereſts, is a very excellent and wiſe inſtitution, and may be conſidered as a ſtrong bulwark to defend and protect the purity of a republican government. It is not lightly nor wantonly put in execution, ſince there muſt be at leaſt ſix thouſand citizens concurring to the puniſhment. Equality is the very life of a commonwealth; and you muſt allow, that by the maxims of a jealous ſtate ſome alarm may reaſonably be taken at ſuperior merit. A

ſoul ſo elevated is thought incapable of moderation, and a deſire of glory ſo paſſionate is hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from a dangerous ambition. The Athenians have always been deſirous of curbing thoſe who have puſhed themſelves too forward; of reducing them into the ſame rank with their countrymen, from which perhaps they were at firſt unavoidably advanced by the pre-eminence of their characters, or the neceſſity of the times. They remember the tyranny of PISISTRATUS and his ſons, who were formerly no more than plain citizens on a level with the reſt: they hold always in view the fate of Epheſus and other Grecian colonies: they bear in memory the aſpiring temper of PAUSANIAS in Lacedæmon; and how were it poſſible to divine, but that THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, and PERICLES, would embroil their city in diſſenſion, and treat it in the ſame manner? This kind of baniſhment hath nothing ſhameful or diſhonorable; it is not termed the puniſhment of iniquity, but is in fact the depreſſion of exalted power. It may be ſtyled a gentle mitigation of envy; for by fixing this diſgrace upon a ſupreme officer in the commonwealth, the ſting of malice can injure him no farther, and the arrows of hatred, which were pointed at him, loſe their force. It is a ſure method of quieting the minds of the people, and prevents them from proceeding to meaſures of more violence againſt the exile. He is ſuffered to enjoy his eſtate without forfeiture; he poſſeſſes the rights and privileges of a citizen, with

hopes, in the interim, of being re-eſtabliſhed in authority. Thus thou mayeſt obſerve, that a man is not at once diſcarded by this law from the protection of his country; none of the links which attach him to her intereſt are broken; he need not therefore reſort for ſuccour to the reſolutions of deſpair. Hence it is, that the perſons whoſe names I have recited, never entered into any unjuſt confederacies againſt their native Athens, but on the contrary preſerved an unſhaken fidelity in its ſervice. Again, this cuſtom of oſtraciſm hath a further good conſequence, that it effectually ſecures us from civil war and bloodſhed. Are there ſeveral who ſtruggle at the ſame time for ſuperiority? Do they endeavour to diſtract the commonwealth by different parties? There ſeems no way ſo effectual to deliver the conſtitution from deſtruction, as the ſending thoſe out of its boſom, who can lay no reſtraint on their ambition. Hence the frame of the republic is entire; for, from the apprehenſion of this law, our conſiderable citizens apply all their abilities to increaſe the proſperity of the ſtate, inſtead of ſupporting their perſonal power; they ſtrive to aggrandize that, and their emulation is by this means converted to laudable purſuits. If the people take offence at their conduct, they are diſmiſſed for a term of years in the way already mentioned. They have time given them to reflect coolly on their raſhneſs, and inſtruct themſelves, from the feeling leſſons of experience, in the vanity of every competition, except that which every honeſt man ſhould engage in; I

mean contending, who ſhall moſt contribute to the welfare of their country. — Yes, replied I, interrupting him, I underſtand what you mean. The enemies of a great man are pleaſed to honor the unworthy ends of their malice with the name of political wiſdom; and the people of Athens are ſo good as to indulge them in ſaying, they were afraid of his ambition, when in truth they were envious of his reputation. However, to do you juſtice, you have urged more on behalf of the law, than I ever yet heard, or than I believed the matter would bear. But I beſeech you, what ſuſpicion could you poſſibly entertain of THEMISTOCLES, who had done ſo much to ſave the common liberties of Greece; who is even thought to have poiſoned himſelf in the court of ARTAXERXES, becauſe he would not engage in any enterpriſe to the prejudice of his country? What umbrage could the generoſity of CIMON give to the Athenians, who ſeems to have been ſo ſtrongly touched with the principles of benevolence, that he would have ſcorned to raiſe his own power on the ruins of a free republic? And what could you fear from the ſanctity of ARISTIDES, who adminiſtered the money of all Greece with that diſintereſtedneſs which becomes a man intruſted with the treaſures of another; with that diligence which one uſually exerciſes in the management of one's own affairs; who gained love and eſteem in that office, which is generally expoſed to odium? Happy Athens! that couldſt find a good man zealous in thy ſervice, after the baniſhment of ARISTIDES,

with whom goodneſs itſelf was exiled! Surely when ſo many, and I may ſay only virtuous, miniſters have ſuffered by the law of oſtraciſm, it is high time to aboliſh this wretched tool of faction and ſedition. A tree may be judged of from the fruit that it produces, and a law may be known by the effects derived from it. — Without doubt, interpoſed he, there is truth in what you ſay, but it is truth carried too far. No law can be made to ſuit every particular caſe. The legiſlator muſt conſult for that, which upon the whole is right. The wiſeſt inſtitutions are often attended with inconveniencies, and can you wonder, that the beſt law ſhould ſometimes be followed by the worſt miſchiefs? — No, returned I with ſome warmth, no miſchiefs are to be wondered at in that ſtate, where a man's merit, inſtead of gaining him the love of his citizens, recommends him to nothing but diſgrace. Good heavens! can there be a ſurer ſign of univerſal frenzy in a commonwealth, than the puniſhing of great virtues with a ſeverity only due to the baſeſt of vices; and rewarding high ſervices and the nobleſt achievements with ſuch black unthankfulneſs? Are ye not aſhamed to puniſh this crime by law, wherever it is found in private perſons, and yet permit the imputation to remain upon the public? Could your ſtate be tried by any other city, and called to an account for its uſage of theſe excellent patriots, your ſubtilties would ſtand you in no ſtead, nor could your orators invent an anſwer. At preſent indeed you are ſecure from the cenſure

or

or reſentment of the illuſtrious ſhades, who were injured by your anceſtors. No murmurs of complaint are heard amongſt them; but notwithſtanding their tongues are ſilenced by the neceſſity of the grave, all ages and nations will agree to curſe the barefaced ingratitude of Athens. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

End of the third Year of the Peloponneſian War.

A. M. 3576. *First Year of the* 88*th Olympiad. The fourth Year of the Peloponnesian War.*

LETTER LVII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

IN a former letter [70], noble scribe, I laid before thee some account of the three chief branches of the Athenian constitution, the senate of five hundred, the assembly of the people, and the Areopagus. The subject is so far from being exhausted, that I shall proceed to give thee a further view into the nature of their civil government, and the different jurisdictions of the magistrates. Thou must have already observed, that the form of all these republican constitutions is complex, and the legislative as well as executive power divided into a great number of hands, in order to preserve that equality of conditions, and rotation of authority, which they look upon as the basis and chief security of their liberties.

The nine Archons, with all the other magistrates of the state, enter upon their respective charges the first day of the month Hecatombæon, which begins the year, and is

[70] Letter xiii.

celebrated with ſolemn ſacrifices, and all other expreſſions of rejoicing.

The Archons are elected by lot; but before they are admitted to the exerciſe of their offices, are obliged to undergo a double examination in the ſenate and forum, and to take a very ſtrict oath in the royal portico. The firſt in the commiſſion, who by way of pre-eminence is called the Archon, gives name to the year, determines in all cauſes of wills and legacies, and regulates the diverſions of the theatre. To the ſecond, (who probably in memory of their kings is ſtyled Baſileus,) the care of religion, the conduct of the prieſts, and the inſpection of the Eleuſinian myſteries are committed. The Polemarchus, or general, who is the third, has under his management the diſcipline of the troops, and the care of the ſtrangers reſiding at Athens, over whom he exerciſes a kind of judicial authority. Six go under the common title of Theſmothetæ, and are the guardians of the laws. It is their duty to ſee, that none are enacted but ſuch as conduce to the public good. All controverſies in matters of trade fall under their cognizance, and they have the honorable diſtinction of regiſtering public leagues and contracts. If either of the three principal magiſtrates, by reaſon of his youth, is leſs ſkilled in the laws and cuſtoms of his country, it is uſual for him to chuſe two perſons of age, experience, and reputation, as his aſſiſtants, who are called Paredroi. The Nomothetæ are a thouſand in number. Their office is from time to time to inſpect the old laws; and if

they find any that are grown obſolete, contradictory, or uſeleſs, to lay the matter before the people for their determination. The Strategoi, or generals of their armies, are ten in number, one out of every tribe. They have each a day of command in their turns. I will not enter into a tireſome detail of the other magiſtracies amongſt the Athenians: it is ſufficient to ſay, that they are very numerous, and ſhare amongſt them the different branches of power, from the care of the public revenues to that of regulating the women's apparel, and providing lights and torches at public entertainments.

At the end of the year, the magiſtrates, who go out of office, are obliged to give in a ſtrict account of their conduct to the people. The Areopagus, the Senate, the Trierarchs, in ſhort, every public officer, who is either choſen by lot in the temple of THESEUS, or voted for by the extenſion of hands in the aſſemblies of the people, is obliged to undergo a ſevere examination of his behaviour, before he is entitled either to any honorary mark of diſtinction, or reward for his ſervices. And what is much ſtronger, the law enjoins, that till he has performed this duty, he ſhall not be permitted to conſecrate his patrimony to religious uſes, make any offering to the gods, or be adopted into another family, or even diſpoſe of his effects by will. In a word, the accountable magiſtrate can no longer be ſaid to enjoy the property of his poſſeſſions, but is actually ſuſpended from a power of diſpoſing

of them, till it appears that he has acquitted himſelf like a good citizen in the ſervices committed to his care.

There is nothing deſerves more attention in the Athenian conſtitution, than the nature of their courts of juſtice, and the manner of their judiciary proceſs. Beſides what I formerly mentioned of the Areopagus, I ſhall here add ſome further particulars relating to it, and ſhall conclude with a brief account of their other tribunals. The judges of the Areopagus have three ſtated meetings every month; when they are met, they divide themſelves into different committees, to each of which a certain number of cauſes are aſſigned by lot. They uſe this method of proceeding, that every one of the judges, being ignorant what particular cauſe will be referred to his determination, may lie under no bias from intereſt or corruption. Before the trial begins, the plaintiff and defendant by ſolemn oaths call the gods to witneſs the ſincerity of their proceedings. The former is placed upon a ſilver ſtool, called the ſtool of *Injury;* the latter upon another, called the ſtool of *Innocence*. Then the pleadings begin, which the parties ſometimes compoſe themſelves, but generally employ ſome orator to place their arguments in the moſt advantageous light. They are limited as to the time of ſpeaking, and are tied down to ſtate only the plain matter of fact, and reaſon from it, without uſing either rhetorical embelliſhments to amuſe, or moving expreſſions to raiſe the compaſſion of the judges. After the cauſe has been

fully heard, the judges give their opinions: thoſe, who acquit the defendant, caſt their votes into a brazen urn; thoſe, who condemn him, caſt theirs into one of wood. When the ſuffrages are equal, the ſide which is favorable to the priſoner is always taken. If the caſe is not capital, he names himſelf the puniſhment which he thinks he has deſerved, and the judges determine it from his opinion. The ſentences of this court have always been held in the higheſt veneration, for their exact conformity to the laws; and its members are in ſuch repute for wiſdom and integrity, that foreign ſtates have ſubmitted their differences to their arbitration; particularly the Meſſenians made that offer to the Spartans, when thoſe two ſtates were at variance. The Athenians themſelves ſay, that let any one of an irregular diſſolute courſe of life be admitted into this court, he immediately lays aſide his former vicious inclinations, and is adopted as it were into the virtues, as well as the number, of that venerable tribunal. Beſides the Areopagus, the Athenians have four other courts, which take cognizance of capital offences, called the Palladian, the Delphinian, the Prytanean, and the Phreatian. The firſt of theſe was rendered by DRACO ſuperior to the Areopagus, but SOLON afterwards leſſened its power. The number of judges is fifty-one. The Delphinian tribunal ſit in the temple of the Delphic Apollo, and try thoſe murders wherein the fact is owned, but the defence alledges that the laws gave the accuſed a power of committing

it, as in the caſe of adultery. The Prytaneum is of a very odd conſtitution; and thou wilt imagine I am not in earneſt, when I tell thee of what nature the cauſes are which come before them. If a piece of wood or ſtone, a ſword, in ſhort any thing inanimate, kills a man either by accident or the direction of an unknown hand, it is tried before this court, and upon conviction ordered to be caſt out of the territories of Athens. The Phreatian court is ſo called from an ancient hero, and determines the cauſes of ſtrangers who fly out of their own country for murder, and are apprehended within the limits of the Athenian ſtate.

Theſe are the courts of judicature for criminal cauſes. Thoſe for civil are in number five: but I ſhall not trouble thee with an account of any but the Heliæa; ſo called from its being an open place, and expoſed to the ſun. The judges of this court are appointed by lot out of the body of the people, and their number varies according to the exigency of affairs, being ſometimes reduced to fifty, and at others increaſed to an hundred. The oath they take is very ſolemn; they ſwear by JUPITER, NEPTUNE, and CERES, to give ſentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people and ſenate of Athens, to maintain the preſent conſtitution, to take no bribes, to hear both ſides impartially, and to ſuffer no man to be elected into any office who has not given in his accounts. The manner of their judicial proceeding is as follows: after the cauſe has been regiſtered in the court by the proper

officer, and a day appointed for an hearing, the indictment of the plaintiff is read by a public crier; then the defendant may endeavour to wave entering upon the merits of the cafe, by putting in one of thefe three pleas; firft, that the time wherein the accufation ought to have been preferred was elapfed; fecondly, that the ficknefs of himfelf or principal witneffes rendered it impoffible for him to make a proper defence; or laftly, that he could retort the indictment preferred againft him upon his adverfary. If thefe pleas are either not offered or not allowed, the caufe proceeds in the ufual courfe. That the time of the court may not be unneceffarily taken up, an hour-glafs of water limits the orations of each. When the pleadings are over, the judges give fentence, by caffing beans into two urns, which are opened, and a magiftrate ftands with a rod in his hand to number the beans, and decides as they come out. The caufe is no fooner determined, than a tablet containing the nature of it, and the names of the parties, which, during the time of its being in fufpenfe, hangs up in a public place, called the heroes ftatues, is ordered to be taken down. The judges depofit their fceptres, the badges of their office, at the temple of LYCUS, and receive the reward of two or three oboli for their fervice.

From this general view of the Athenian conftitution in its moft diftinguifhed branches, I believe thou wilt concur with me in opinion, that were its parts lefs complex, and the whole modelled into a narrower compafs, it would

be not only more perfect, but more likely to be durable. The number of the courts of judicature in particular is a great burden to the ſtate, as they tend to break the courſe of juſtice, and render the progreſs of it expenſive and troubleſome. Many of the poorer ſort procure themſelves to be elected into theſe tribunals for the ſake of the oboli, that are paid them when they have diſcharged their office. Such arbitrators inflame every trifling difference, inſtead of reconciling it, and add fuel to the litigious and quarrelſome temper of their countrymen. It were to be wiſhed, that the wiſdom of their judges was equal to that of their laws; but an account of them I reſerve for the ſubject of another letter. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LVIII.

GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER. *From* Suſa.

THY laſt diſpatch, as it concerns us very nearly, adds likewiſe in the higheſt degree to the merit of thy ſervices; and the ſpeedy return we make to it from hence will convince thee, that the affair and its conſequences are eſteemed of ſingular importance. Thy letter, by the king's direction, was laid before the ſupreme council of ſeven, which thou knoweſt is compoſed of ARTÆUS, preſident of the tribunal of juſtice; ARIMASPES the Archimagus; MEGABYZUS;

TERIBAZUS, treasurer of Persia; ASPATHINES, master of the posts; INTAPHERNES, and myself. The remarkable manner in which thou camest to the knowledge of this treasonable correspondence, and the particulars which thou hast extracted from the letters themselves, left us no room to doubt of thy intelligence; and therefore we laid it as our unanimous opinion before the king, that the traitor should be immediately apprehended. At the hour of shutting the palace-gates, a party of eunuchs belonging to the guard of the women's apartments arrested SACAS, and secured his papers. Upon examining them it appeared, that since the death of PERICLES he had destroyed the papers that passed between them; there remained only a few letters from MAZEUS, but in them was sufficient evidence to convict him. For in one he expressly calls SACAS the *Friend of Athens;* and in another, desires him to transmit to PERICLES the terms on which he would rise in arms against his sovereign. He was examined the next day before the tribunal of justice, but behaved with a sullen reserve, till the severity of torture drew from him a confession of his perfidious practices. He would never be induced to say, that any other person was concerned with him, except one slave, whom he had sent twice with letters to Athens, and poisoned at his return to prevent a discovery. His usual manner of conveying his dispatches was, to send them enclosed to a merchant of Athens, one PHILO, under a pretence that they were commissions from the ladies of the palace to purchase Grecian

curioſities. After ſo full a confeſſion, and the written teſtimony of MAZEUS's letters, he was ſentenced to ſuffer capital puniſhment, after the laws of Perſia, and condemned to the Boat[71]. But in the night that preceded the day appointed for his execution, the queen-mother, from whoſe ſlave he was firſt advanced to a low office in the palace gardens, made very preſſing inſtances that his life ſhould be ſpared, and himſelf condemned only to a perpetual impriſonment at Cyrta upon the Red Sea. Several ladies of the palace, particularly ARSINOE, the fair Damaſcan, united their intereſts to hers; and our monarch, divided between the reſpect which he always pays to the leaſt requeſt of his mother, and the prevalence which love has over the moſt generous natures, on one hand, and the ſafety of his empire, and the inviolable obſervance of juſtice, on the other, has ordered the execution to be reſpited. However, the miniſters continue to

[71] The puniſhment of the boat was peculiar to the Perſians, and of a very ſtrange nature. They took two boats framed exactly to fit and anſwer each other. The malefactor who ſuffered was laid down upon his back in one of them, and covered with the other, in which were holes cut big enough for his head and eyes to appear at. Then they offered him food, which they compelled him to eat by pricking his eyes. The drink they gave him was a mixture of honey and water, pouring it not only down his throat, but over his face, which being kept turned towards the ſun, and beſmeared with this potion, was always covered with vaſt numbers of flies and other inſects. In this teazing and painful condition the criminal generally languiſhed ſeveral days before he expired, and afforded a moſt noiſome ſpectacle to the by-ſtanders. Note by the tranſlator.

preſs earneſtly, that the laws may take their courſe; and it is urged, that the puniſhment of SACAS may be a real clemency to others, who otherwiſe may be incited to renew the like practices, from obſerving, in the preſent caſe, that they are paſſed over with impunity. One traitor is however ſecured; for a courier is juſt arrived with the head of MAZEUS, the late governor of Phrygia; and orders are diſpatched to put to death ARGESTES, which he already deſerved for his mal-adminiſtration of Lydia. I will not conceal from thee, that theſe executions have occaſioned no ſmall faction and intrigue in the court. The friends of SACAS, and the relations of MAZEUS and ARGESTES, ſome of whom are of the moſt conſiderable families in the empire, put every method in practice, to inveſtigate from what quarter theſe treaſons were diſcovered. But thou mayeſt reſt aſſured, CLEANDER, that thy letters are ſhown to none but thoſe of the ſecret council; and no care ſhall be omitted, that may contribute towards thy ſafety, which, as long as I have any influence, ſhall be equally ſecure with my own.

PYRACMON the Spartan tells me, that an agent from Lacedæmon will ſhortly arrive here, with fuller powers and leſs limited inſtructions. If we ever proceed ſo far with him as to draw up a plan for a league between the Great King and the Lacedæmonians, we ſhall inſiſt that no peace be made with Athens, till they agree to aboliſh that article in CIMON's peace, which reſtrains our navigation. Otherwiſe the aſſiſtance

we ſhall afford them will be real and effectual to their advantage; and the obligations they lay themſelves under with regard to us merely nominal.

I have orders from the king to acquaint thee, that whenever the ſcene of buſineſs at Athens requires a leſs particular attendance, thou mayeſt take an opportunity of ſurveying the moſt remarkable parts of Greece, and ſend us accounts, as well of the general face of the country, as of the cuſtoms and policies of its different ſtates. The time and manner of performing this journey are left to thy judgment; but in order to defray any expenſes it may occaſion, and to reward thee for thy late ſignal ſervice, TERIBAZUS, the treaſurer, is directed to tranſmit to thee 2000 Darics by the hands of thy brother the merchant.

P.

LETTER LIX.

CLEANDER *to* SMERDIS.

IN a former letter [72] I told thee of an extraordinary philoſopher, who hath appeared within theſe few years in the town of Athens. And as thy attention muſt of courſe be raiſed to hear that ſo much learning exiſts among the Greeks, it is my deſign in the preſent, to give thee an account of ſome, who have been

[72] Letter iii.

eſteemed in this part of the world for the ſuperiority of their wiſdom, and the remarkable ſanctity of their manners. To ſay nothing of the Ionic and Italic ſchools, which in their turns have produced perſons of great eminence and abilities, I ſhall entirely confine myſelf to ſpeak of the ſeven ſage contemporaries of Greece.

Thales of Miletus, who is generally counted in the number, was founder of the Ionic ſect: the reſt are Bias and Cleobulus of Caria, Chilon and Myson of Laconia, Solon of Athens, and Pittacus of Mitylene. They were ſo highly reſpected by their countrymen, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the honorable title which I have juſt now mentioned. Nor indeed is it to be wondered at, if ſuch ſingular regard was paid to them, ſince however deficient their doctrines may ſeem in more enlightened times, yet methinks a natural reverence is due to thoſe who firſt opened the avenues to philoſophy, and were the earlieſt improvers of human reaſon. The particular accident which is ſaid to have been the occaſion that this title was beſtowed on them, is thus related by the Grecian annaliſts. Some Mileſian fiſhers having taken a ſilver tripod in one of their nets, were not able to agree among themſelves to whom the property of it ſhould belong, and therefore referred the matter in diſpute to the oracle at Delphi. The oracle pronounced it ſhould be given to the wiſeſt man. Accordingly it was ſent to Thales, who modeſtly declined accepting it; and ſo it paſſed from

one to another of theſe philoſophers, till it was at laſt dedicated by SOLON to the god APOLLO. When it was brought to MYSON, the perſons charged with it were received by him in the habit of a menial ſlave working on his own grounds. Happy times of primitive ſimplicity, when a wiſe man was known by no other token than his virtue!

I proceed to THALES. He was born in the firſt year of the thirty-fifth olympiad; and was the moſt celebrated geometrician, naturaliſt, and aſtronomer of the age he lived in. But I ſhall not preſent him to thee, SMERDIS, in any one of theſe regards; and chuſe rather to conſider him in the capacity of a moral teacher. For as thou, in the character of a religious inſtructor, art more verſed in precepts for the conduct of life, than the idle reſearches of ſcience; ſo thou art better pleaſed with the profeſſors of the former than the latter. THALES, having received ſeveral queſtions from AMASIS the king of Ægypt, ſent him the following anſwer to each of them: "Wouldſt thou be "informed, what is oldeſt? It is God, be- "cauſe he is a being from eternity. Wouldſt "thou know, what is greateſt? It is ſpace, "becauſe the world contains all things, but "that contains the world. Wouldſt thou be "ſatisfied, what is faireſt? It is the earth, "becauſe it is exquiſitely contrived and diſ- "poſed. Wouldſt thou be told, what is wiſeſt? "It is time, becauſe it diſcovers the moſt ſecret "tranſactions. Wouldſt thou be acquainted, "what is common to all men? It is hope,

" for when every poſſeſſion is gone, that abides " with us. Doſt thou aſk, what is beſt? It is " virtue, for it ſweetens the enjoyments of " life. Doſt thou aſk, what is worſt? It is " vice, for it corrupts every good. Doſt thou " inquire, what is ſtrongeſt? It is neceſſity, " becauſe that alone is invincible. Doſt thou " inquire, what is moſt agreeable? It is to " obey the dictates of nature, and purſue the " ends ſhe has marked out." As he had ſpent the beſt part of his paternal fortune in literary purſuits, his friends reprimanded him one day ſeverely for his neglect of it; but he told them, that a wiſe man was always rich, while a rich man had ſeldom the happineſs to be wiſe. And upon their aſking him, what advantage he had reaped from his acquirements in knowledge? he anſwered, he would ſoon give them a remarkable inſtance of it. In ſhort, having foreſeen by ſome phyſical obſervations, that it would be a fruitful year, he bargained with the inhabitants of Miletus for the produce of their olive-trees in the enſuing ſeaſon. From theſe he extracted a large quantity of oil, the profits of which proved a conſiderable revenue to him. When his acquaintance came to congratulate him on this ſucceſs, he generouſly diſtributed his gains to the neceſſitous; adding, that it was the duty of a philoſopher to eſteem money at a low rate. They tell of him, that in a conference which he held with a philoſopher of Priene, relating to his extraordinary method of calculating the proportion that the ſun's body bears to the orbit he deſcribes in his

his annual courſe, the Prienæan admiring the acuteneſs of THALES, and the beauty of the invention, entreated him to command any reward which it lay in his power to beſtow on him; but THALES made him this anſwer: "I require no other reward from you, than "that you ſhould not arrogate to yourſelf the "credit of the invention; but if ever you im-"part it to others, inform them of the true "author. The wiſeſt men are by no means "contemners of glory; much leſs ſhould I, "who am very far from the poſſeſſion of "wiſdom, be pleaſed with any man, who "would uniuſtly uſurp to himſelf the honor "of thoſe diſcoveries, which might otherwiſe "redound to my own reputation." A queſtion was one day put to him, whether it were poſſible for a man to conceal his actions from the gods? "Impoſſible," ſaid he, "becauſe "they are even acquainted with our thoughts." He uſed to thank Providence for three things; that he was born a reaſonable being, and not a brute; a man, and not a woman; a Greek and not a Barbarian. His love of liberty and independence was ſuch, that during his reſidence in the palace of AMASIS, he made himſelf obnoxious to the miniſters, by the freedom and boldneſs of his converſation. In particular, he expreſſed his abhorrence of tyranny ſo ſtrongly, that it gave offence to the king, who could never be eaſy till he had ſent him away with ſome notable marks of his diſpleaſure. The reflection which chiefly enraged them was this: "That of all wild beaſts a tyrant is the

" worſt, and of all tame beaſts a flatterer." Thus was THALES an excellent philoſopher, but a bad courtier! This however happened fortunately for Greece, ſince by that means he was forced back into his native country, which he enriched with thoſe invaluable treaſures of learning that he brought from Ægypt.

BIAS was deſcended of a noble family in Priene. He had a natural talent for eloquence, which he ſo improved by practice, that his name as an orator grew famous over all Greece. To tell a pleader, that he had performed at the bar of a court of juſtice like BIAS of Priene, was for many years thought the higheſt compliment that could have decently been paid to any one. The moſt remarkable ſtory, that is told of him, I find to be this: When ARDYS, who ſucceeded GYGES on the throne of Lydia, took the city of Priene by ſtorm, and was juſt preparing to give it up to the plunder of his ſoldiers, the inhabitants were diligently employed in removing their effects. In the midſt of this general conſternation, BIAS alone appeared not concerned for the event; and being admoniſhed by ſome of his acquaintance to follow their example, he immediately anſwered them, " You are miſtaken, if you think I am " unmindful of my affairs; for all that is mine " I carry with me." There is one precept of his, which bears hard upon his character, *viz.* " That we ſhould ever behave towards an " enemy, as if he might become our friend; " and towards a friend, as if he might become " our enemy." The firſt part of it, which regards our conduct to an enemy, is a wiſe

and rational reflection; but the laſt part, that regards our conduct to a friend, ſeems deſtructive of ſocial happineſs, and the pleaſure reſulting from the unreſerved overflowings of affection. The different circumſtances and caſualties of my life, venerable SMERDIS, (and ſurely various are the trials I have undergone,) never gave me occaſion, I confeſs to thee, to believe it a neceſſary maxim. This concluſion, however, thou wilt naturally draw from it; that the philoſopher who imparted this ſevere advice to the world, muſt have intruſted the ſecrets of his heart to a man, who proved afterwards perfidious; and the rather, becauſe one would imagine that nothing could have extorted it from him, but his own fatal experience of the corruption and fickleneſs of human nature. How much better is the generous principle of his countryman CLEOBULUS, that "Enemies are to be reclaimed by a gentle "forbearance, and friends to be preſerved by "a cordial benevolence!" The life of this philoſopher was not diſtinguiſhed by any intereſting events. It is known of him in general, that he lived happily in the office of principal magiſtrate in his city, and was bleſſed by Providence with an extraordinary daughter. She was a celebrated compoſer of enigmas, many of which ſhe ſent into Ægypt to be ſolved by the ſagacity of the learned. Though her father was very attentive to the management of his paſſions, yet ſhe was of great ſervice to him in moderating thoſe unguarded ſtarts of anger, which were apt to break from him; a

circumſtance the more agreeable to CLEOBULUS, as it was accompanied with all the amiable ſimplicity of real tenderneſs and duty!

CHILON poſſeſſed the dignity of an Ephorus in Lacedæmon. Being aſked by ÆSOP the fabuliſt, what he thought moſt difficult, he replied, "to keep a ſecret, and to bear an injury." He wrote a letter to PERIANDER of Corinth, in which he told him, that "it was "impoſſible for a tyrant to be ſafe; and he might "eſteem himſelf ſingularly fortunate, if he died "peaceably in his bed." In his old age he declared among his intimates, that he was not conſcious he had ever done any thing inconſiſtent with his duty, except that in a conteſt between one whom he loved, and another whom he had no regard for, he was unwilling to determine either againſt his friend or the law, and ſo perſuaded him to appeal to a different tribunal, where he might hope to be acquitted. How few are there who, like CHILON, at the cloſe of a long life, can accuſe their judgment but once of being warped by partiality!

MYSON was an inhabitant of the town of Chæna. Notwithſtanding his father was governor of the place, he ſeems to have neglected thoſe honors to which his birth and rank did naturally call him, and to have retired from the noiſe of public buſineſs to his little farm, confining himſelf to the culture of his lands, and the improvement of his own mind.

I come now to SOLON. Were I to give thee a particular account of his inſtitutions,

this letter would ſwell into a volume; nor will I endeavour to deſcribe to thee the rapturous veneration which the Athenians pay to his memory, ſince an attempt of that ſort could only preſent thee with a faint idea of it. Beſides, thou mayeſt perceive it is no part of my deſign to conſider him as a wiſe law-giver or a ſuperior politician, but as he ſtands on an equality with the reſt of theſe ſpeculative philoſophers. Having met with innumerable croſſes, which uſually diſturb a good man in republican governments, SOLON was rather forced by the neceſſity of the times, than tempted by his curioſity, to travel into Ægypt. However, while he ſtaid there, he made himſelf well acquainted with the knowledge of the country. On his return to Athens, he found PISISTRATUS inveſted with the ſupreme authority; and though he was his neareſt relation, yet he vigorouſly oppoſed each of his arbitrary meaſures. He told his countrymen, that "in aſſerting their "common liberties, he thought himſelf wiſer "than ſome among them, and braver than "others; wiſer than thoſe who ſuſpected not "the intentions of PISISTRATUS, and braver "than thoſe who ſuſpected them, but timorouſly "concealed their ſentiments." He uſed to ſay, "that laws are like cobwebs; they entangle "the weak and men of low condition, but "the rich and the powerful break through "them." The ſtory of his conference with CROESUS on the ſubject of happineſs, is well known, from the large account of it that hath been lately publiſhed in the Clio of HERODOTUS.

I imagine a copy of that excellent hiſtory muſt have penetrated into Bactria; and therefore I will not trouble thee with a tedious repetition of what is there recited, nor ſpoil its beauty by contracting it. SOLON, in order to prevent the abuſes, which might ariſe from the extenſive power of the people, created a council of four hundred to be choſen out of the tribes, who were to examine every propoſition, before it was offered to the general aſſembly for their determination. On this head ANACHARSIS, the Scythian ſage, made a lively remark to him: "Methinks, (ſaid he,) it is a ſtrange diſpoſi-"tion of your affairs, that you ſhould ſuffer "wiſe men to debate, and leave it to fools "to decide."

PITTACUS was a man of remarkable ſteadineſs in his conduct. He killed the tyrant who oppreſſed his country, and for that gallant action the people of Mitylene ſubmitted themſelves of their own accord to his authority. He governed them for ten years with ſurpriſing lenity; and when they begun to grow weary of him, he abdicated the regal office. He would frequently exclaim, "How difficult is it for a great man "to be honeſt?" Without doubt, he had experienced, that the life of a prince was one miſerable round of diſſimulation; and that it was ſometimes more neceſſary to ſatisfy the exigencies of ſtate-policy, than the dictates of conſcience. He exhorted his friends to ſecure a retreat within their own boſoms, and to fly from the troubleſome crowd of flatterers, which ſurrounded them, to that engaging

ſolitude. He ordered a wheel to be placed in the temple at Mitylene, as an emblem of the uncertain courſe of fortune and viciſſitude of things.

I have now laid before thee, venerable SMERDIS, ſuch, material particulars, as I have been able to collect, relating to the lives and characters of the wiſe men. Nor can it have eſcaped thy penetration, that in the maxims, which I have cited from them in the courſe of my letter, they have touched upon thoſe leſſons of wiſdom, which are the moſt improving, and conveyed them to the underſtanding of others with the cleareſt brevity. At the ſame time it muſt be owned, that the ſentences I ſpeak of, though they are certainly very precious remains of their opinions, are yet far from compoſing any regular and conſiſtent ſcheme of philoſophy. Hence is it, that the doctrines of the Grecian ſages ſwarm with various contradictions, while ſome have rejected with diſdain, what others ſupported with obſtinacy. How little then can any or all of them be compared with the inſpired prophet of the Eaſt! If theſe had the happineſs to be bleſſed with any faint dawnings of the light of reaſon; ZOROASTER enjoyed it in its full force and luſtre. If theſe laid down any rational principles of conduct in human life; ZOROASTER underſtood the relations of duty, and revealed a noble ſyſtem of morality. If theſe were eminent among their citizens for philoſophical auſterities; ZOROASTER may be conſidered as a perfect pattern of virtue. If theſe inveſtigated any truths in

the knowledge of nature; ZOROASTER was acquainted with all her ſecret wonders and mightieſt operations. If theſe, when they worſhipped that immortal power, who is the provident artiſt, and wiſe governor of the univerſe, confined themſelves to the petty limits of a temple made with hands, and offered ſacrifices on altars of their own erecting; ZOROASTER taught, that the temple of OROMASDES was infinite ſpace, that his altar was the earth, the air, and the heavens. If theſe were of ſervice to one corner of mankind, to their native cities, and the narrow diſtricts of their own communities; the religion of ZOROASTER was not fixed to one place or ſociety of men; it has made its way through innumerable nations of the world. To conclude, the philoſophers, like the gods of Greece, were partial in their knowledge, ſelfiſh in their purſuits, unſettled in their conduct, contentious in their natures, mean in their affections: ZOROASTER, like his own deity, the great OROMASDES, was boundleſs in knowledge, extenſive in benevolence, uniform in his conduct, undiſturbed in his nature, refined in his affections. In a word, the former were only fitted to perplex the reaſon, and divide the hearts of their countrymen; while the latter was born to clear and improve the one, to enlarge and unite the other. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LX.

CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS. *From* Athens.

HAD I not received thy commands to lay before thee ſome account of the military diſcipline of the Greeks, I ſhould never have ventured to addreſs my remarks on that ſubject to ſo conſummate a captain, who, by long experience in the duties of a ſoldier, and the warlike arts of different nations, muſt anticipate every thing that can be offered, on a ſcience, which the ableſt general now living might be proud to learn under thy enſigns. But my deſire to gain an inſight into every particular in the Athenian policy and cuſtoms, from whence the Perſian miniſtry could expect information, has induced me to extend my inquiries to a part of knowledge, which would otherwiſe have lain out of my ſphere. I ſhall therefore endeavour to comply with thy orders, by ſending thee ſuch obſervations as I have either had an opportunity of making myſelf, or collected from the diſcourſe of the beſt officers amongſt the Athenians, whoſe tactics throughout this letter I have kept principally in view.

The military force of this republic, and indeed of all the other Grecian ſtates, is compoſed of three ſorts of troops, citizens, allies, and mercenaries. The former, thou mayeſt imagine, are held in the higheſt degree of

eſteem, and moſt relied upon; the latter being expoſed without concern, and never truſted without neceſſary cautions; and ſince their attachment to the cauſe, for which they fight, is owing to motives of conſtraint or profit, their fidelity is ſometimes ſuſpected.

The young Athenians are early trained up to arms; at the age of eighteen they learn the military exerciſes under the inſpection of able maſters, and inure their bodies to ſuppleneſs and fatigue, by frequenting the ſtadia and wreſtling ſchools. At twenty their names are entered in the public regiſter, after taking a ſolemn oath in the temple of AGRAULES, by which they oblige themſelves "to fight till the laſt gaſp "for the intereſt of religion and the ſtate, in "conjunction with their fellow-citizens, or "even alone, if occaſion requires; to increaſe "the proſperity of their country; to obey the "laws enacted by conſent of the people; and "to oppoſe with all their might thoſe who "ſhall attempt to alter the conſtitution." When this ceremony is performed, the young men are looked upon as members of the commonwealth, enjoy all the privileges, and are liable to all the duties of citizens: amongſt which that of appearing in arms, whenever the voice of the people requires their ſervice in the field, is none of the leaſt: but in order to inure them to the diſcipline and fatigues of war, they take their turns by detachments to mount guard in the citadel, Piræus, and other forts of Attica, for two years before they are ſent upon any expedition abroad. The Grecian infantry, in

which the ſtrength, of their armies conſiſts, is made up of Hoplitai, Pſiloi, and Peltaſtai. The firſt are heavy-armed ſoldiers, who engage with long ſpears, broad ſhields, and cutting ſwords. The ſecond are light-armed men, who fight with arrows, darts, and ſlings, and are placed either in the van to begin an engagement, or on the flanks of the wings, to gall the enemies cavalry, and prevent their breaking in. The Peltaſtai are a ſort of troops between the two former, ſo called from the narrow targets which they wear. Theſe again are divided into bodies of thouſands, hundreds, and fifties each, commanded by their proper officers, the Chiliarchs, Hekatontarchs, &c. To each company of one hundred and twenty men four ſubalterns are aſſigned; the lieutenant, whoſe poſt is in the rear, the enſign, the trumpeter, the crier, who gives the word of command, and the ſutler, who ſupplies the men with neceſſaries, and waits upon them. The Athenian officers all aſſure me, that amongſt the many advantages their troops have over thoſe of the Eaſt, they reckon theſe ſub-diviſions to be one of the principal. By this means the men perform their exerciſes with more exactneſs and uniformity, move with greater quickneſs, attack with greater force, and have a larger number of officers to watch over their conduct in their quarters, as well as encourage and direct them in a day of battle. Over the foot are placed ten camp-maſters, with the title of Taxiarchoi, choſe by each of the

tribes [73]; they command, under the general, [who is always one of the Strategoi elected annually by the people,] the infantry of their respective tribes, give orders for the marches, review the men, punish them for their misdemeanours, and regulate the distribution of victuals to every soldier. The cavalry are divided into squadrons under their proper officers, two of whom are called Hipparchoi, and have the same jurisdiction over them as the Taxiarchoi have over the foot: but the Grecian cavalry is not very numerous; and in this respect I should think the Persian armies were far their superiors, when they have generals at their head, who know how to make use of so material an advantage. The Hippeis [74] or horsemen, at Athens compose the second order of citizens, and are required to have a certain annual revenue, and to maintain a horse at their own charge; but they do not amount to twelve hundred at the most. The Lacedæmonians are likewise but indifferently supplied with cavalry; the best of theirs comes from Sciros, a town not far distant from Sparta.

[73] Their names are the Aegean, the Erechthian, the Cecropian, the Pandionian, the Acamantian, Antiochian, Leontian, Oenian, Hippothoonian, and Ajacian. The reader may see in POTTER's Antiquities the several divisions of these tribes into Demoi or boroughs. Note by the translator.

[74] The Athenians were divided into three orders; the first were worth 500 medimns of liquid and dry commodities; the second 300; the third 200: the rest were allowed to vote, but not to bear offices in the state. This was an institution of SOLON. Note by the translator.

Indeed a very natural reaſon is to be aſſigned for their deficiency in this branch of their armies; for as Attica and Peloponneſus are mountains and rough countries, there is no opportunity or encouragement to train up a breed of horſes for the ſervice; and thoſe they have can be of little uſe in military operations from the ſituation of the ground. The cavalry of the Theſſalians, who poſſeſs large and extended plains, is moſt eſteemed, and therefore hired by the reſt of the Grecians to ſupply that defect amongſt themſelves. The cuſtom of paying ſoldiers was introduced here by PERICLES: before his adminiſtration every citizen ſerved at his own expenſe; now a foot-ſoldier receives three oboli a day, and a horſeman a drachm; but upon particular occaſions this ſtipend is increaſed.

Thou muſt have obſerved of the Grecian armies, that they are not formidable ſo much for their numbers, or even courage, as individuals, as for the excellent diſcipline, which prevails among them, and that warm love of glory and their country, which animates every man in the army, from the higheſt officer to the meaneſt ſoldier. Their courage, without the former, would only expoſe them to danger; without the latter, they would want the moſt powerful motive to diſtinguiſh themſelves. Their evolutions are contrived with deep penetration, founded on practice and a ſtudy of the military art, which is unknown to the rude undiſciplined multitudes of the Eaſt, who are dragged out of the villages to recruit our

armies, and urged on by blows and ſcourges to the attack.

When the Grecians would break the adverſe battalions, they throw themſelves into the form of a wedge, which the enemy, if they underſtand their buſineſs, receive in a koilembolon, or pair of ſheers, which intercepts and breaks the force of the rhombus. When they would receive or give a regular onſet, they form in a body of ſixteen in flank, and five hundred in front, preſenting on all ſides a firm impenetrable phalanx. When they would enter defiles or ſtraits poſſeſſed by an enemy, they extend their files in the ſhape of a worm, from whence the figure receives its name: in ſhort, no one incident can happen in a day of battle, for which they have not invented a proper motion; unlike the armies of Perſia, potent lord, thou well knoweſt, who ruſh on tumultuouſly with hideous cries, and place their whole dependence upon the fury of the firſt attack. If that fails them, their courage abates, their ranks grow diſordered, the officers are unable to give orders in the confuſion that enſues; and if the enemy give one briſk puſh, they betake themſelves to a ſhameful flight.

The ſcience of attacking and defending towns is much improved in this country ſince the invaſion of Xerxes, when the Spartans, after the defeat of Mardonius, could not force a body of Perſians, who had taken refuge in ſome wooden fortifications, till the Athenians marched to their aſſiſtance. The long duration

of the ſiege of Platæa has contributed towards a variety of new works and machines, that are daily brought into practice; their uſual method was to draw up their army in the form of a tortoiſe, and give a general ſtorm, or elſe batter the walls with the ram, and then ſend a party to enter by the breach. I have hitherto confined myſelf to the diſcipline of the land-armies; but as the chief pride and ſecurity of Athens conſiſts in the number and goodneſs of her ſhips, and the experience and ſkill of her ſeamen, thou mayeſt expect from me ſome remarks on that part of her military force. In a former letter to Gobrias [75] I mentioned the claſſes of twelve hundred rich citizens choſen out of each tribe, upon whom the expenſes of all the naval preparations are laid. Theſe claſſes are divided into companies of ſixteen each, who unite to fit out a trireme; but there ſeems to be ſomething unjuſt in the law upon which this practice is founded. Every citizen, from the age of twenty-five to forty, is ranked in one of theſe companies; and whether he has a revenue of two hundred talents, or of two, is obliged to contribute equally in equipping a ſingle ſhip. Now it ſeems highly unreaſonable, that the poſſeſſors of plentiful eſtates ſhould contribute no more than others towards the public expenſe; and that the citizens of ſmaller fortunes ſhould be burdened with as large an aſſeſſment as the more opulent: and yet the law, as it ſtands at preſent, is

[75] Letter xxxiii.

liable to theſe objections, and I think it would be very meritorious in any of their orators to propoſe a new regulation [76]. The Athenians man their gallies, according to their reſpective rates, with a due proportion of ſoldiers and ſailors. The former are generally heavy-armed, for they endeavour to come to boarding as ſoon as poſſible, and by engaging hand to hand, bring it as near as is practicable to a land-fight. The ſailors are made up of mariners, who manage the ſails and tackling, and rowers; both compoſed of citizens, contrary to the practice in other countries, where the latter are always ſlaves. Amongſt the Athenians they divide them into three orders; thoſe in the uppermoſt benches are called Thranitai, thoſe in the middle Zeugitai, thoſe in the lower Thalamitai. The firſt have the largeſt pay; ſince by the diſtance of the water, and length of their oars, they undergo more fatigue and danger than the others. The officers on board a fleet, beſides the admiral and his lieutenants, are the Trierarchs or captains of ſhips, who have under them the maſter or pilot, the Keleuſtes or boatſwain, who directs and places the rowers, and the Logiſtes or purſer, beſides other ſubalterns.

Having thus ſubmitted to thy cenſure an imperfect eſſay on the Grecian tactics, permit me, illuſtrious miniſter, to impart my thoughts

[76] This was afterwards done by DEMOSTHENES. See the oration περὶ Στεφάνου. wherein both the laws are inſerted.

with

with boldneſs on a ſcheme which has often occurred to me. Since our royal maſter has ſeen peace in his days, he has done, a great deal towards healing the loſſes, and reſtoring the honor of the empire. But might he not put the finiſhing ſtroke to ſo glorious a work, by allowing penſions out of his treaſury to any able officers and engineers, who would travel over Greece, and ſtudy the art of war, which begins to arrive at a degree of perfection and refinement unknown to former ages? Some might in diſguiſe take plans of the principal cities, inquire into the ſtrength of each ſtate, ſurvey the ſituation of the country, and find out the proper places for encampments, ſurpriſe, or diſembarkation. Others ſhould inliſt in the troops which now conteſt the dominion of Greece, endeavour to gain the eſteem of the generals, and be preſent at and take a journal of every action. When they return home, the king might reward them proportionably to the diligence of their inquiries, and the importance of their remarks. They ſhould then be diſperſed over the provinces, to diſcipline the troops, and fortify thoſe cities and paſſes which are eſteemed the keys of the empire. I know it is ſufficient to mention this project to thee, potent Satrap; nor need I enlarge upon the increaſe of real ſtrength to Perſia, of reputation to her arms, of glory to our preſent monarch, and of luſtre to the miniſtry of MEGABYZUS, which would be the infallible conſequences of it. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXI.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

THE more I conſider human nature, the more I find it unable to bear the agitations of love, grief, or indignation in ſilence, or under the cover of tranquillity and cheerfulneſs. In ſuch circumſtances the affections will force their way; we muſt vent our groans to the rocks, and pour out our complaints to the ſenſeleſs and inanimate part of the creation, if we are afraid to intruſt them with the rational and thoſe of our own ſpecies. Men of narrow minds, who have wanted generoſity enough to gain a friend, or of fickle minds, who have wanted ſedateneſs enough to fix one, muſt frequently have recourſe to ſoliloquies in retirement, when toſſed to and fro by the hurricane of paſſion. But for my own part, I thank the gracious OROMASDES, that he has given me a warmth of temper, as well as ſtrength of underſtanding, ſufficient to make me zealous in cultivating a ſtrict correſpondence with the wiſe and faithful CLEANDER, in whoſe boſom I may depoſit every undiſguiſed thought and diſquieting apprehenſion. Let me open myſelf to thee without reſerve on the ſtate of the Bactrian ſchools, and the indolence of our order. It will not ſurpriſe thee that I blame their faults; for thou art too well acquainted with my integrity, to imagine me capable of approving thoſe corruptions, which the

ſanguine would pronounce it my duty to palliate, and the cautious would think it my intereſt to maintain.

Our mighty prophet ZOROASTER received numberleſs favors from the great DARIUS, in whoſe memorable reign he appeared. The erudition and ſanctity of the order, which he reformed, occaſioned the bountiful encouragements and large revenues, which were beſtowed on us by the monarchs who ſucceeded him. They thought our attention to rectify the religious notions, and improve the reaſons of our followers, qualified us to inſtruct the youth of the empire in philoſophical ſpeculations: they thought the recluſeneſs of our condition and the purity of our lives enabled us to curb their appetites, and refine their practice. In our hands therefore the heirs of noble families and the hopes of the kingdom were placed.

By this means they conceived, that, notwithſtanding the alterations in our government and manners, the loſs of the ancient ſchools would be repaired, ſimplicity preſerved in thoſe who are ſurrounded with ſuperfluities, and continence amidſt every incitement to tranſgreſs. I need not enlarge on theſe miſtakes, which are obvious, and, however abſurd in themſelves, are too ſerious in their conſequences to be ridiculed.

Alas! the ignorance of the world, in which we are generally brought up, and which has prepoſterouſly raiſed our reputation, both as obſervers and teachers of morality, introduces

more faults amongſt us than it ſaves us from; and inſtead of ſubduing or extinguiſhing the paſſions, it only cuts out another channel for them. Though our deſire of reputation be checked, and our vanity conſtrained to act in a narrow ſphere, we give a looſe to pride, and look down on the uſeful part of ſociety with an inſolent ſcorn. Though we have few opportunities of ſhowing our obſtinacy in action, yet we are ſtrangely tenacious of opinions; and though we are clear of thoſe vices which ariſe from promiſcuous converſation, we fall into the low habits that attend a want of it. —— Believe me, my Epheſian friend, there is no error which carries leſs the appearance of truth, at the ſame time that there is none more deſtructive of magnanimity, than this, that "not "to have met with temptation, is to have ac- "quired virtue." But if it was the intention of Providence, that virtue ſhould be the effect of good ſenſe and experience united, it is then incumbent upon us, who are to educate a nation, to have known the world, and ſtruggled with its inſinuating allurements. What though we be guilty of miſtakes at firſt ſetting out, neither ourſelves nor our neighbours ſhould deſpair of us; we muſt purſue our journey, take care to be informed better of the right track; and after having followed it, our advice to the young adventurers in life will be received with more reverence, when it proceeds from a ſobriety not natural and phlegmatic, but painfully and dangerouſly acquired. Such men would be far advanced in the way to

perfection; for though to learn wiſdom from the ſufferings of others be the higheſt point of it, yet it requires no ſmall ſhare of underſtanding to take warning, and to give it, in conſequence of our own. Such men might be ſaid in truth to have the government of their paſſions, might be eſteemed maſters in the art of education; and having tried what the world is, would be fit inſtructors for thoſe who are to live in it. It were to be wiſhed therefore, that while ſome of us are employed in contemplating and explaining the divine volume of ZERDUSHT, others ſhould be employed in the public ſervice, in travelling abroad, and enriching themſelves with the fruits of their inquiries into men and things; and that all of us, at a certain age, in recompence for the ſupport we had received from the colleges of Balch, ſhould be recalled, and obliged to ſpend the reſt of our days in forming the youth of Perſia. We might then hope to ſee the inſtitution of this place much amended. Inſtead of teaching chicanery, evaſion, and poſitiveneſs in our ſchools, the ſound principles of policy and juſtice would be ſet forth: inſtead of a ſcrupulous attachment to forms enforced by the terror of an unmanly diſcipline, we ſhould behold a general regard to good breeding, candor, and philoſophy, ariſing from an inward regulation of temper and a well-turned mind. No man would enjoy the penſion deſigned for the diligent, who was not ſomehow or other intereſted in the great work; and it might be found poſſible, however it

may ſeem otherwiſe at preſent, for the oldeſt and moſt venerable of our order to converſe with their diſciples, and not betray themſelves into the extreme of an unmeaning dignity, or a low familiarity. Thus conducted and improved in the opening of life, the youth would no longer laugh at our ſage counſels with the giddineſs of children, nor diſdain to obey our laws with the ſtubbornneſs of men; and the Magi themſelves would think they ill deſerved the emoluments they receive, or ill anſwered the end of their founder, if they were regular in no good thing but their oraiſons to the riſing or declining MITHRAS.

C.

LETTER LXII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYRS. *From* Athens.

THE fourth campaign of this war is opened with ſymptoms not very favorable to the Athenians. Early in the ſpring they received the unexpected news that SITALCES had ſworn to a ſeparate peace with Macedon, his troops had been repulſed at the attack of Europus, worſted in ſome ſkirmiſhes with PERDICCAS' cavalry, and began to want proviſions, and ſuffer from the inclemency of the weather. But what gave him moſt uneaſineſs was the delay of the Athenian ſuccours, (for the republic was afraid of ſending their ſhips ſo far

from home,) and the intelligence he had, that the people of Theſſaly, alarmed at his ambitious views, were taking arms in the South, and ſome of his neighbours in Thrace, from the ſame motive, forming leagues againſt him in the North. Theſe at leaſt are the reaſons, and not unplauſible ones, by which he palliated his conduct to the Athenian ambaſſadors; but the truth of the matter is, as I privately learn, that the artful PERDICCAS had gained over SEUTHES, a near relation, and principal counſellor to SITALCES, with the promiſe of marrying him to STRATONICA his ſiſter, and giving her a vaſt portion, if he could bring about an accommodation. And ſuch (it ſeems) is the influence of this miniſter, that in eight days time he prevailed with his maſter to abandon the poor AMYNTAS, as well as his own claims, and return home. It is added, that the king of Macedon, reſolved not to diſappoint his benefactor, is making preparations at Pella for the nuptials of STRATONICA and SEUTHES.

Three expreſſes have arrived here within theſe few days from the magiſtrates of Tenedos and the inhabitants of Methymna, which brought advice, that all the cities of Leſbos had entered into a confederacy to ſhake off their dependance upon Athens; that their magazines were furniſhed with corn, and their garriſons with archers from the Pontus Euxinus; and that the preparations for an open revolt were ſo far advanced, that unleſs the Athenians uſed the utmoſt vigor and diſpatch in

quelling theſe commotions, the iſland would be loſt. Private intelligence is likewiſe come from ſome friends in Mitylene, the capital of Leſbos, that the leading men amongſt the revolters have determined to ſend deputies to Lacedæmon, to deſire that they may be admitted into the Peloponneſian league. This news has ſenſibly touched the Athenians; the moſt penetrating amongſt them apprehend very bad conſequences from theſe Leſbian troubles. They look upon this revolt as giving the ſignal to the other tributary iſlands, to withdraw their ſupplies of ſhips and money, and either ſtand abſolutely neuter in the preſent diſſenſions of Greece, or throw themſelves under the protection of Lacedæmon or the Great King. They very well know, that their allies obey them more through fear than affection; that the abſolute authority; which for many years they have exerciſed over them, has produced diſcontents, which want nothing but a fit occaſion to break out into an open flame. They reaſon further, what can Athens do, when ſhe is left alone to ſtand her ground againſt ſo many potent enemies, who pretend to have no other cauſe for taking up arms, but to keep the balance even, and to preſerve themſelves from the inſults and aſſuming ſpirit of the Athenians? Her treaſures muſt ſoon be exhauſted, when the chief ſources of them (ariſing from the contributions of the allies) are either loſt to her, or turned againſt her. The inhabitants of a ſingle city can never ſuffice to man annual fleets, or recruit large armies,

particularly when that city has been conſiderably weakened by a cruel plague; much leſs will they be able to bear up againſt the loſſes and misfortunes, which are the ordinary attendants of war. What are we to expect from the other iſlands, when one, that has been the moſt favored and diſtinguiſhed, is the firſt to riſe in arms againſt us? Theſe are the reflections I meet with in the porticos, where the Athenians meet to talk over the buſineſs of the day, and to inquire of each other what news is ſtirring. To add to their diſtractions, the Peloponneſian army is encamped in the territories of Attica, and ſkirmiſhes often happen between their detachments and the garriſon of the city. However, to preſerve that reſolution and addreſs, which they have hitherto ſhown, they work day and night at the Pireus to equip a fleet of forty gallies, the command of which is given to CLIPPIDES, who has already received ſecret inſtructions from the ſenate, the contents of which, as I am informed, are, that "he muſt ſail with the "ſquadron under his command to the port of "Mitylene, and endeavour to ſurpriſe the in-"habitants at a feaſt, which they celebrate "every year to APOLLO, without the walls of "the city. If he finds that ſolemnity paſt, or "the Mitylenians prepared for his reception, "he is to demand of them to deliver up their "ſhips, and demoliſh the fortifications which "they have lately raiſed. In caſe of refuſal, "he is ordered to declare war againſt them,

" and to keep the port blocked up, till further " reinforcement arrives from Athens." The ten gallies, which the Lesbians, by virtue of their treaty with Athens, are obliged to join to their fleet now lying at Phalera, are seized, and the officers and mariners thrown into prison.

I had written thus far, when accidentally hearing a noise in the street, I had the curiosity to inquire the occasion of it; and was told, that a captain of a trireme stationed in the Pireus had stopped a vessel pretended to be bound for Ephesus, secured the packets found on board, and put the men under arrest by order of the Polemarchus. Struck with the thought that I had committed a parcel, addressed to my brother HIPPIAS, in which were enclosed dispatches to thyself and some Persian friends, to the care of the master of this vessel, a thousand doubts and apprehensions crowded at once into my mind. Recollecting that I had no time to lose, I run down to the Pireus, and found the captain preparing to carry his packets to the Prytanes. As I had luckily some acquaintance with him, I took him aside, and told him, that he probably had a packet of mine in his hands, which contained mercantile business of great consequence to my brother, which if exposed to the eyes of the magistrates, with some of whom he had dealings in the way of trade, must be highly detrimental to his traffic here. I therefore desired him to restore me that packet. He remonstrated to me,

that his orders were expreſs to bring all the papers he found in the veſſel. I aſſured him that upon demand of the magiſtrates it ſhould be produced. My earneſt entreaties, ſupported by the more weighty eloquence of a talent, which I put into his hand, prevailed with him at laſt to reſtore it to me. I went home, and upon the ſpot made up a parcel, containing nothing but letters from me to HIPPIAS on our private concerns, which exactly reſembled the former in ſize and figure. I had ſcarce put in execution this neceſſary artifice, when an officer brought me a ſummons from the Prytanes to appear directly before them. I went with an honeſt confidence, and found thoſe magiſtrates in deep conſultation. DYMAS the trierarch vouched, that the packet I delivered in to them was the ſame he had ſeized. The papers were looked into, ſome few general queſtions put to me, and after an hour's attendance I was diſmiſſed. The Epiſtata, or preſident, declared to me that they were ſatisfied; that I had not been examined upon any particular ſuſpicion, but that nothing might be omitted in ſo diſtempered a time, which any way tended to ſecure the tranquillity of the ſtate. He gravely exhorted me to be diſcreet in my correſpondencies, and prudent in my behaviour. I am ſince informed by a friend among the Prytanes, that the ſhip was ſtopped becauſe they had diſcovered, that inſtead of going for Epheſus, the maſter was bribed to change his courſe, and make for Leſbos. They have found

advices from one AGNON, an hoſt of the Mitylenians, relating to the preparations going forward here. This AGNON is actually impriſoned, and will ſoon be put to death for his treaſonable practices.

Having thus happily eſcaped ſo unexpected a danger, I ſhall ſet forward in a few days for the Olympic games, which are to be celebrated this year with the uſual magnificence. The permiſſion, which thy laſt diſpatch brought me from our royal maſter, to ſurvey ſome parts of Greece, has invited me to undertake ſo agreeable a journey; and the large remittance, which I received lately from TERIBAZUS, enables me to perform it with convenience.

I proſtrate my head in the duſt, potent Satrap, for the favors heaped upon me. May the great OROMASDES continue to ſhed his healing influence upon the throne of CYRUS and the whole empire of Perſia, averting from both (as he hath lately done by diſcovering the perfidy of SACAS) the malign efforts of the accurſed ARIMANIUS! Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXIII.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

I COMPLAINED of a relaxation of diſcipline amongſt the Magi [77]; and though not without reaſon, yet it would be injurious to impute it wholly to them: perhaps a general corcuption may be too ſtrong for their beſt efforts to reſtrain. The children of the great are committed to their care much later than formerly; they bring with them an high opinion of their rank, a confidence in their paternal fortunes, and an eagerneſs for pleaſures, of which they have had an early taſte. They aſſociate only one with another, and ſeek partners in voluptuouſneſs rather than the advantages of wiſe converſation, which would be attended with reſtraint; for excellent inſtruction is ſtill to be had amongſt the Magi, by thoſe who want not induſtry and an ingenuous diſpoſition: witneſs the young ORSAMES, who owns himſelf indebted to our ſchools for thoſe qualities which adorn him, and promiſe ſuch fruits to his country. But obſerve, CLEANDER, the prudent ſteps taken by the Satraps and the wealthy, who have entertained unfavorable opinions of a Perſian education; they ſend their children abroad, and take no further concern about their conduct than that it may not be ſeen by them. The young Perſian is ſet out with a

77 Letter lxi.

ſplendid retinue; has his recommendations from Susa, and wherever he goes is received as a Satrap; he is honored in our provinces, and gazed at in foreign ſtates; his mind is elevated above his rank, be it what it will, and his improvements ſeldom qualify him for any. He probably impairs his fortunes, and upon his return, has a mind much raiſed above the thoughts of œconomy; or if he ſubmits to it, it is in a wrong place. The expenſes of equipage and voluptuouſneſs are become neceſſary and indiſpenſible: he therefore grows parſimonious to thoſe who have juſt claims upon him; he oppreſſes his dependants, and ſparingly rewards the countryman, the guardian of his wealth. Nor is this to be wondered at; the young traveller ſets out with a mind not yet confirmed in any principles, and at an age ſtrongly biaſſed to pleaſure. He therefore moſt naturally falls in with the corruptions of every country, both in principles and practice; for as he is diſpoſed to gratify his affections, he readily admits ſuch ſentiments as favor them. It is generally thought the buſineſs of a traveller to ſelect for the benefit of his country what appears to him to make up the moſt perfect polity; and from his experience of men, to become himſelf an exemplary, wiſe, and good citizen. But our young traveller takes a pleaſure in reciting the imperfections he has obſerved in government, manners, and religion; he dwells much on the ſuperſtitions of Ægypt, the bigotry of the people, and the craft of the prieſts; and intimates, that he has much

improved his ſagacity in regard to the worſhip of his own country. He is juſt ſuch an obſerver in morals; for if he has made the tour of Greece, he aſſures you, that the rule of right and wrong, the ground of all juſtice, ſo much inſiſted on by our anceſtors, is not ſo indelibly imprinted by nature as has been imagined; that an ancient and flouriſhing ſtate has ſubſiſted without the cultivation of it; though probably he takes this upon hearſay, for our youth ſeldom come nearer to Sparta than a neighbouring iſle [78]; much better ſuited to the delicacy of their lives. What can be the reaſon of this, but that they think their practice juſtified by theſe great authorities? Why elſe do we hear little more of Athens, than its ſports and gaiety? of Sardis, than its gaming? and of Babylon, than its obſcene hoſpitality? I aſſure thee, CLEANDER, I have known ſome of our youth, after a toilſome paſſage acroſs Arabia and the ſea into Upper Ægypt, upon hearing the feſtival rites at Cyprus were coming on, take a light veſſel, and with all the expedition of oars and ſail ſwim down the Nile, and content themſelves with ſo tranſitory a view of the great cities and monuments of that ancient kingdom. When they reached the ports of Cyprus, which extends its arms into the ſea, and encloſes vaſt fleets in its boſom, they ſpent little reflection on its ſtupendous moles and its conveniences for lading. They heard, that the temple of

[78] Cythera, the iſland of VENUS.

the Grecian goddeſs was open; that a choir of an hundred youths, and as many beautiful virgins, had already begun the ſolemn ode; they perfumed themſelves with rich oils, and crowned with garlands, haſtened to mix in the idolatrous rites, habited like ſhepherds of Arcadia; for all appear in diſguiſe on this occaſion, that they may not be under the reſtraint of ſhame, which ill becomes the votaries of ſo impure a deity.

Tender minds, CLEANDER, are ready for all impreſſions; therefore it is not proper they ſhould be withdrawn from wiſe and virtuous patterns, till they have gained an intimate acquaintance with virtue, and are able to combat the temptations of vice and folly. The ſoul is long in its infancy; the body comes much earlier to maturity: young men therefore (as the wives of the Magi are confined to the moſt beauteous objects of ſight, and hear nothing but harmony, that no ill impreſſion may deface their offspring, which is to be dedicated to the holy ſervice of the temple) ſhould be accuſtomed to no ideas that may pollute the ſoul, the purity of which is an offering moſt delightful to OROMASDES.

It is at too great a hazard they go in queſt of what is worthy their imitation in Ægypt or Greece; for that much may be found ſo by a prudent inquirer, I will not deny: wiſdom is not confined to one climate, it ſhoots out in ſome ſhape every where; at Athens it is wiſe policy, tender regard for the community, and every art that is properly humane;

humane; at Lacedæmon it is public liberty, maintained by auſtere diſcipline, and an ignorance of every enervating pleaſure; in Ægypt it is piety to the gods, and a veneration for all things ſacred. It once appeared under all theſe denominations in Perſia: alas! that we can now find it only in our hiſtories!

Perhaps after all, CLEANDER, thou wilt ſay, what need all this precaution in favor of virtue? and why ſhould our youth be prejudiced in her behalf, who is repreſented ſo amiable as to ſtrike her beholders with admiration, and force our eſteem? It is becauſe virtue, though more amiable, is not ſo obvious; ſhe uſeth little art to recommend herſelf; like a chaſte virgin, ſhe muſt be ſought after and ſued for: vice, like a proſtitute, always preſents herſelf, is officious, importunate, and inſnaring. ORSAMES is acquainted with this; he traverſes the diſtant regions of the earth, not to gratify the idle curioſity of ſight, or adorn the palace of his Perſian anceſtors with the arts of Greece, but to complete the furniture of his mind, to fit it for the abode of OROMASDES, who deigns to dwell with the good: in awe of whoſe preſence the wicked AHRIMAN will fly from us, as the ſhades of night diſperſe at the approach of MITHRAS, to diſtant countries, and the deep caverns of the earth.

H.

LETTER LXIV.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES. *From* Athens.

THIS is the laſt letter, which I ſhall write to thee from Athens in ſome months. I ſet out to-morrow on an expedition to the Olympic games, and promiſe myſelf, that the magnificence and order, with which they are celebrated, the great confluence of Greeks, who repair from all parts to Olympia, the variety of countries and noble cities I ſhall paſs through in my road, and eſpecially the agreeable ſet of friends who accompany me, will more than anſwer the ideas of pleaſure and improvement which I propoſe to myſelf from the journey. Thou wilt, I believe, think that I have made a very happy mixture of acquaintance, when I let thee into the characters of my fellow-travellers. My patron PHILEMON, as well upon account of his age as his merits, ſhould be mentioned firſt. This worthy Athenian ever ſince my reſiding here has treated me with particular regard: to him I am indebted for the friendſhip I have made with thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in Athens for their virtues and abilities; to him I owe the little knowledge I have acquired of the conſtitution of the republic, and the manners of a people the moſt contradictory and various in their diſpoſitions of all others. PHILEMON has paſſed through the moſt conſiderable offices in

the ſtate. He was, when very young, captain of a trireme at the battle of Salamis, and narrowly miſſed taking the famous Queen ARTEMISIA, who eſcaped him by a very extraordinary ſtratagem. He has been ſince overſeer of the fortifications, archon, one of the five hundred, and is now a member of the Areopagus. In all theſe employments an unblemiſhed integrity, and an exact diſcharge of his duty, have recommended him to his countrymen as one of their moſt deſerving citizens. He has frequently oppoſed the meaſures both of CIMON and PERICLES; but it was in ſuch a manner, that you ſaw, though he condemned the faults, he ſpared the men; and that his oppoſition proceeded not from ambition or caprice, but from an honeſt zeal for the public welfare. He is always well heard in the aſſemblies of the people, not from the art or eloquence of his orations, or a command of words, that rather overpowers than convinces the reaſon; but becauſe he ſpeaks to the purpoſe, and with an air and geſture, that ſhows he does not mean to impoſe upon his hearers, unleſs he is firſt deceived himſelf. Another quality, which diſtinguiſhes my friend, is a ſingular humanity: his door is open to every poor citizen, and his table prepared with a frugal hoſpitality to receive any ſtranger, who comes recommended either by his own deſerts, or the requeſt of a common friend. There is not a greater teſt of his benevolent temper, than that though he is an old man, he can encourage the mirth, and bear with the levities

of the young; nor a ſtronger inſtance of his good breeding, than that he does not abound in the narrative faculty of years, and is rather forward to promote the converſation of others, than to aſſume an air of ſuperiority, by obliging them to liſten to his. This is an imperfect ſketch of PHILEMON's character: I paſs next to that of my other companions.

CLINIAS is deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Athens; and though both his rank and abilities entitle him to a conſiderable ſhare in the government of his country, he devotes himſelf almoſt wholly to the improvement of ſcience. He is an univerſal patron of arts; the philoſopher, the poet, the painter, the hiſtorian, and the ſculptor find alike the effects of his liberality. He is not contented to be an admirer of learning, he is likewiſe an excellent judge of it. I have ſeen him hold an argument with the ſophiſt GORGIAS, and heard him diſpute the doctrine of the ſoul's preexiſtence with SOCRATES. ZEUXIS ſubmits his moſt finiſhed picture to his cenſure, and PHIDIAS would alter the drapery or attitude of a ſtatue upon his advice. His table is frequented by all the learned in Athens; he abounds himſelf in the moſt elegant diſcourſe, and has a peculiar art of ſetting the talents of others in the beſt light, and throwing ſomething in their way, that may give them an opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves. The two affairs, in which he moſt intereſted himſelf, were the accuſation brought againſt PHIDIAS for defrauding the public in the gold employed about the

ſtatue of MINERVA, and the charge againſt ANAXAGORAS for impiety: but neither his intereſt nor his eloquence, though ſupported by PERICLES, could ſave the artiſt from priſon, or the philoſopher from baniſhment.

PHILOCLES is a young man, who gives early marks of being a good officer. He has been employed in the ſervice in Thrace, and behaved with ſo much gallantry at the ſiege of Potidæa, that the generals ſent him to Athens with the news of its being taken. He ſerved laſt ſummer in PHORMIO's fleet, and was recommended by him to the people to be made a trierarch in the ſquadron which is ready to ſail to Leſbos; but CLEON had intereſt enough to diſappoint him, for the ſake of one BATTYLUS, a buffoon and a Lutaniſt. PHILOCLES however is not diſcouraged from purſuing a military life, but hopes for better ſucceſs at the next equipment. In the mean time he deſigns to put in for the prize of the chariot-courſe at the Olympic games.

To complete our party, we have CHLORUS of the tribe of Pandion, a young man of wit and politeneſs, but of a character ſomething ſingular: though he has a fund of good ſenſe, he has one weakneſs, of affecting a general acquaintance amongſt the rich and the powerful. You generally ſee him at ſome great man's elbow at the theatre, and he is very buſy in laying the cuſhion for him. He boaſts to this day of a letter he received from PERICLES, to thank him for a preſent of olives, and was extremely ſurpriſed at not hearing from his good friend

PHORMIO all the laſt campaign. He is well ſkilled in the genealogy of the Athenian families, and has promiſed we ſhall be ſupplied with the beſt intelligence from Athens during our abſence.

I pleaſe myſelf with reflecting on the different views which my companions and myſelf propoſe from this journey. The humane PHILEMON is willing to be preſent at a ceremony, which he thinks tends to inculcate a reſpect for the gods, and to remind the different people which inhabit Greece of the ties, which ought to unite thoſe who enjoy one common name, country, and religion. CLINIAS is pleaſed with the thoughts of extending his acquaintance amongſt the learned and ingenious. PHILOCLES flatters himſelf with ſucceſs in a conteſt, that gives a luſtre to the victor's name for his whole life. CHLORUS would be known to every one who diſplays a ſplendid equipage at Olympia. For my own part, all that I aim at is, to approve myſelf a faithful ſervant to ARTAXERXES, and no uſeleſs miniſter to Perſia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LXV.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Heliopolis.

As the prieſts of Ægypt are the moſt conſiderable part of the body politic, and hold the chief rank and pre-eminence among the people, thou wilt be curious to know what are the different orders into which they are diſtinguiſhed. And as theſe ſeveral orders are more ſtrictly kept up according to the ancient eſtabliſhment in the college of Heliopolis than in other places, I will endeavour to ſatisfy thy curioſity. To diſtinguiſh [79] them according to the different ranks they appear in upon public proceſſions and ſolemnities, I may mention firſt after the inferior degrees, the chief of the muſic-band, who always carries ſome muſical inſtrument, as an enſign of his office; and in his cuſtody are two of the books of HERMES, one containing hymns in honor of the gods, the other rules and precepts for the conduct of their kings. Next after this officer is the diviner, who carries an horoſcope and a palm-branch, the ſymbols of aſtrology; and he is required to be thoroughly learned in four of the books of HERMES, that treat of that ſcience; one, of the order and arrangement of the fixed ſtars; a ſecond, of the phaſes of the moon and her

79 CLEMENS ALEXANDR. Stromat. lib. vi.

conjunctions with the ſun; the other two, of the phenomena of their riſing. After him comes next in order the ſacred ſcribe. He wears wings faſtened to his mitra, and carries a book with a rule, in which is ink, and a reed to write with. His province lies in the hieroglyphical knowledge, and he muſt be ſkilled in thoſe books that treat of the doctrine of the globe, geography, the courſes of the ſun and moon, and of the five planets; he muſt know accurately the poſition of the ſeveral parts of Ægypt, the nature of the Nile, the lands and diſtricts appropriated to the prieſts, the exact meaſure and dimenſions of them, with the uſes and ſymbolical applications of all the ſacred inſtruments. I may reckon next after him the maſter of the ſacred wardrobe, who carries the rod of juſtice before the prophet, and a cup for libations. He is thoroughly verſed in all the inſtitutes of the Ægyptian diſcipline, and all the rites of ſacrifice; and there are ten kinds of ſervice performed in honor to the gods, under which the whole of the Ægyptian religion may be comprehended: the chief are ſacrifices, offerings of firſt-fruits, hymns, prayers, proceſſions, and public feſtivals. Laſt goes the prophet, followed by thoſe who carry the bread of *diſtribution*, and he is the head and ſupreme over all. To him it belongs to interpret the laws of HERMES; and he not only preſides in all matters of religion, but, according to the ancient conſtitution, holds a ſupreme judicature in all

cauſes without any further appeal, as chief [80] of that high tribunal of thirty [81], which was compoſed of ten from each of the three principal cities, Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. And though his power be limited, ſince Ægypt became ſubject to Perſia, yet his deciſions are ſtill held infallible among the Ægyptians; as a token of which he wears a ſaphire [82], with the image or emblem of truth hung by a golden chain about his neck. The prieſts in general are habited in linen [83], from a conceit that woollen garments would defile them. But the prophet likewiſe hath his head ſhaven, and wears on his feet ſlippers of the bark of the palm-tree, and carries at his breaſt a water-jar, wrapt in the folds of his garment [84]. The prophet is charged with the diſtribution of their revenues. To him belong the ten ſacerdotal books. In thoſe books are contained the laws, the doctrines of their mythology, and whatever relates to the diſcipline of the prieſts. Theſe are the chief diſtinctions among the prieſts of Ægypt, or profeſſors of the Hermaic doctrines. And there are upon the whole two-and-forty books of Hermes abſolutely neceſſary to the literati of Ægypt; thirty-ſix of which number, containing all the philoſophy, belong to the forementioned orders; the remaining ſix, which are phyſical,

80 Aelian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. xiv. c. 34.
81 Diod. Sicul. lib. i.
82 Aelian. ibid. Diod. Sic. ibid.
83 Herod. lib. ii. c. 37.
84 Apul. Metam. lib. ii.

to the Paſtophori, and they treat of the parts and ſtructure of an human body, of diſeaſes, of inſtruments, of medicaments, about the eyes, and laſtly of women. To the forementioned orders may the whole prieſthood of Ægypt be referred in their different ranks and degrees. But the Paſtophori and Neocori, or ſacred Ædiles, are of a much inferior rank, and to be reckoned among the ſubminiſtrant orders, and the purifications required of them are much leſs tedious and painful [85]. This then is that body of men ſo famous throughout the world, upon whom the original conſtitution of their country did entirely depend. Nor have they only governed that ſtate in civil and religious matters, preſcribing rules to princes, and exerciſing an abſolute juriſdiction over the actions, and I had almoſt ſaid opinions, of their own people; but have ſpread their influence abroad, and been in league with the law-givers of every later ſtate. The grand policy of their religious initiations may be thought to have greatly promoted their deſigns, by means of which they could preſerve a correſpondence in diſtant countries, and be informed of whatever was for their purpoſe to know of the ſecrets, not only of ſtates, but

[85] Chaeremon apud Porphyr. de Abſtinent. lib. iv. § 8. Τὸ μὲν κατ' ἀληθείαν φιλοσόφων ἔν τε τοῖς προφήταις ἦν καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις, &c. Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἱερέων τε καὶ Παστοφόρων καὶ Νεωκόρων πλῆθος καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῖς θεοῖς καθαρεύει μὲν ὁμοίως, ὅτι γε μὴν μετ' ἀκριβείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας τοσῆς δὲ.

of private perſons; thereby the more effectually to deceive and ſurpriſe thoſe who reſorted to them. And though they are leſs conſiderable now than they were formerly, yet they will ſtill keep up the ſame diſguiſe and artifice of a myſterious ſecrecy. There is no ſet of men ſeem more to affect a recluſe and contemplative life, or to live more abſtracted from all ſecular cares and concernments. They affect a ſingular preciſeneſs in all their actions, a flowneſs in their ſteps and motions, much gravity in their mien and habits with a ſettled countenance, that ſeldom or ever is changed by ſmiles [86]. The night they dedicate to the obſervation of the heavenly bodies, to certain ceremonies of purification, which they perform at ſtated hours; the day to the worſhip of their gods, whom they celebrate both at the ſun-riſing, and at noon, and in the afternoon, and at the cloſe of the evening. The moſt general ſtudy that employs them at other times, is arithmetic and geometry, in which ſciences they are always laboring to make further diſcoveries, and inveſtigate new truths. And to them it muſt be confeſſed the greateſt improvements in thoſe ſciences have been owing. Neither is there any art, of which they do not arrogate to themſelves the firſt invention. For the moſt celebrated philoſophers, poets, and law-givers of other nations are mentioned in the ſacred regiſters of this college, as having reſided ſometime among them, and ſubmitted to the

[86] Chaeremon apud Porphyr. lib. iv. § 6.

diſcipline of their order. Of the moſt eminent they have taken care to preſerve a ſtatue or picture, performed in the taſte of the age wherein each illuſtrious perſon flouriſhed. They have ſeveral uncouth figures with the names of ORPHEUS, MUSEUS, and MELAMPUS, engraven on the ſtone; and a DÆDALUS, in the manner of his ſtatues, ſaid to be his own work. Among the reſt is the Spartan LYCURGUS, and the Athenian SOLON, PYTHAGORAS of Samos, and the immortal HOMER, who in his deſcription of the infernal regions, which fable ORPHEUS introduced into the religious doctrines and myſteries of Greece, plainly alludes to this place and the adjoining territories.

I ſhould obſerve, that the prieſts truſt not their own memory to written regiſters, any more than that of other famous men. At Thebes I was ſhown a ſingle pedigree [87], which entirely filled a large temple, deduced from father to ſon through more than 300 generations, and every ſucceſſion in it repreſented by a coloſs of wood dreſſed in the habit of the time when each Piromi, as they called them, or worthy, lived. To this pedigree not a few of the preſent race lay claim, and I think it is carried up to the ſons of the Dioſcuri. For as they boaſt that their mythology, with all their learning, was received from the firſt Thoth, or MERCURY, they likewiſe celebrate with a particular reverence the memory of an ancient order, called the Cabiri, who were

87 HEROD. Euterp. 143.

his counſellors and ſecretaries, and aſſiſted in eſtabliſhing that mythology, and the myſteries of a falſe religion, which from Ægypt and Phœnicia were propagated into Greece by them or their immediate deſcendants. They were eight brethren, ſons of SYDYC, a contemporary of CHRONUS, of whom IOSORTHRUS or ÆSCULAPIUS was one, and they were the ſame with the Corybantes and the Dioſcuri of the Greeks: and their worſhip with certain myſteries was very early eſtabliſhed in Samothrace, Imbrus, and other iſles of the Ægean ſea. The Cabiri had a temple at Memphis [88], which was inacceſſible to any except the prieſts. But CAMBYSES, when he ravaged the other temples of Ægypt, entered into this, and ſcoffing at their images, which were deformed like that of VULCAN, ſet fire to it. MERCURY was the firſt author of a celeſtial ſyſtem of the world, and by him and the Cabiri the hero gods began firſt to be conſecrated into ſidereal divinities; and the prieſts ſcruple not to declare, that they had the bodies of thoſe gods embalmed and depoſited among them [89], and that they worſhipped the relics of their bodies here on earth, while their ſouls ſhone as ſtars in heaven. Thus OSIRIS firſt was worſhipped as the ſun, though his relics were conſecrated in the myſteries of ISIS; and his tomb ſhown at Nyſa in Arabia. And though he be acknowledged as a divinity in his own name, yet the prieſts intimate, that

88 HEROD. lib. iii. c. 37.
89 PLUTARCH. de ISID. & OSIRID.

he ſtill receives divine honors in the worſhip of that luminary, to which the famous temple of HELIOPOLIS is dedicated. And indeed the name of OSIRIS ſignifies in their language a thing with many eyes [90], with alluſion to the ſun, that darts its rays into every corner, and as it were ſurveys the whole earth. In the temple there is a throne of opal, which dazzles with an inexpreſſible brightneſs when the rays ſtrike upon it. But there is no ſtatue for the ſun [91]; and the prieſts ſay, they make no image for the ſun and moon in their temples, becauſe every man ſees them daily in the heavens. Yet in the proceſſion that is made for conſulting the oracle of that god, a jointed ſtatue of him is carried, which gives its anſwers by motions [92]. In this ceremony the prieſts are attended by the principal perſons of the country. They ſhave their heads, and obſerve a long continence before it begins. The pillars throughout the temple are of the Pyrite ſtone, the roof of gold and ivory, but diverſified with inimitable art [93]. The doors are of ſilver [94]; round the ſides are figured the twelve ſigns of the year, under the emblems of Ægyptian deities. Within the precincts of this famous temple is a ſtupendous obeliſk dedicated to the ſun by RAMESSES, one of their ancient kings; or rather

[90] DIOD. SIC. lib. i. c. 1.
[91] LUCIAN. de Deâ Syriâ.
[92] MACROB. SATURN. lib. i. c. 23.
[93] KIRCHER, Obeliſc. Pamphil. lib. i. c. 5.
[94] OVID. Metam. deſcript. regiæ ſolis.

intended for a monument to perpetuate his own honor. The height of it is ninety-nine feet, and each of the ſides four cubits. Every ſide is divided into three rows with hieroglyphical figures and inſcriptions. RAMESSES is entitled upon it, *Lord of the world, guardian of Ægypt*, and *conqueror of foreign nations*, with many other glorious characters, that ſet him forth as a perſon highly favored by the gods, and nearly related to them, as it was cuſtomary from the earlieſt times to flatter their kings with a divine original. CAMBYSES, when he attacked this city, and had ſet fire to the buildings, before it reached the obeliſk, out of a particular veneration for that magnificent pile, ordered the flames to be extinguiſhed. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LXVI.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES. *From* Megara.

As I imagined thy curioſity will be excited to know the particulars of our Olympic expedition, I ſhall write a regular account of what occurs moſt remarkable during the courſe of it; and I deſire thou wilt communicate a copy of this letter to the chief ſcribe.

In the morning, before we began our journey, PHILEMON, who ſtrictly adheres, not only to the eſſentials of religion, but to every point of

decency which an exact obſervance of the ceremonial part requires, invited us to partake in a ſacrifice to MERCURY and HECATE, the gods protectors of travellers, at his houſe. When that was finiſhed we ſet out, and leaving the city at the weſtern gate, ſoon ſtruck into the road which leads to Eleuſis. The country about Athens wears at preſent a very diſagreeable aſpect, from the frequent incurſions of the Peloponneſian army. The Demoi or villages, the habitations of the tribes before they were united by THESEUS, are moſt of them in ruins; the lands lie uncultivated, and the laborers are diſperſed. PHILEMON, as we paſſed along, frequently deplored in tears the calamities of war, and ſometimes pointed out to us, with a pious regard, a grove or fountain ſacred to ſome local deity, or the ſepulchre of an old hero, that invites travellers to ſtop, and pay a ſhort veneration. The traditions of the country relating to theſe ancient monuments, though they are intereſting to a Grecian, whom they remind of ſome religious inſtitution, or remarkable fact in his own hiſtory, would afford but little entertainment to a ſtranger; and therefore I ſhall only mention ſuch as are particularly remarkable. On one ſide of the way is a tomb erected to the herald ANTHEMOCRITUS, killed (as the Athenians affirm) by the Megareans, to whom he was ſent on an embaſſy juſt before the breaking out of this war. A little further you meet with an altar to ZEPHYRUS, and a ruſtic temple to CERES, in memory of her wanderings in ſearch of PROSERPINE.

On

On the other ſide of the river Cephiſſus you may obſerve an altar to JUPITER *the placable*, where THESEUS is ſaid to have expiated himſelf after the murder of the robber SINIS, his relation. Eleuſis is a ſmall town, celebrated for the myſteries performed there to the honor of CERES and PROSERPINE. As it is lawful for none but the initiated to enter into the temple and myſtic cell, which they tell you is capable of holding as many people as a theatre, I can give no account of the inſide. The front is ſumptuous, and adorned with a large portico of Doric pillars. The country people ſhowed us here the threſhing-floor of TRIPTOLEMUS the ſon of CERES, and a field where the firſt crop ever ſown in Greece ſprung up. In memory of ſo ſignal an event, ſome barley out of this very field is made into cakes, and uſed in the myſterious ſacrifices. The town itſelf receives its name from ELEUSIS, the ſon of MERCURY and a ſea nymph, and came into the Athenian poſſeſſion in the reign of ERECTHEUS, upon condition that the family of EUMOLPUS, then prieſt of CERES, ſhould enjoy the privilege for ever of preſiding at the myſteries. After leaving Eleuſis we ſoon entered the territory of Megara, which formerly belonged to the Athenians, but in the time of CODRUS the Peloponneſians expelled them, and peopled Megara with a Corinthian colony. As one of the pretended cauſes of the war is the ſevere decree made at the motion of PERICLES againſt the Megareans, which the Lacedæmonians demanded to have repealed, the people of this

place are extremely incenſed againſt the Athenians, who in return have added a clauſe to their generals' oath, that they ſhall annually invade Megara. Notwithſtanding this enmity between the two republics is carried to ſo vaſt a height, we found a very hoſpitable reception at the houſe of a friend of CLINIAS, and have ſpent two days in ſurveying the temples, and other public ſtructures of the place. The city ſtands on a hill, the ſtreets are ſpacious, and adorned with ſome buildings of note. Not far from the gate where we entered, is a temple dedicated to DIANA SOSPITA, or the Saviour, upon an extraordinary occaſion. Whilſt MARDONIUS lay encamped at Thebes, a party of his troops, that had waſted the country round Megara, being upon their retreat, loſt their way in the dark; and either confounded by their fears, or, as the inhabitants report, miſled by a deluſion from the goddeſs, imagined that they ſaw a band of enemies drawn up againſt them: under this miſtake they diſcharged their javelins at the neighbouring rocks, which returned a ſound like the groans of dying men. They continued this fanciful fight till day-break. When they had waſted their weapons, a real one enſued; for in this unarmed condition they were attacked, and eaſily routed by the Megareans. Hard by is a grove and temple ſacred to JUPITER. The ſtatue of that god, begun by THEOCOSIMUS of Megara, aſſiſted by PHIDIAS, is left unfiniſhed, becauſe the public revenues and the eſtates of private perſons are ſo exhauſted by the continuance of the war, that

they are not able to ſupport the expenſe of it. The citadel, which takes in a large ſpace of ground, contains ſeveral public buildings, as the monument of ALCMENA the mother of HERCULES, that of HIPPOLITA the Amazon, and of TEREUS the huſband of PROGNE. Here ſtand likewiſe the Prytaneum, and a temple of APOLLO. In the forum is the tomb of CHOROEBUS, an ancient hero, who killed a dreadful monſter called the Pœna, that was ſent by APOLLO to ravage Argolis. The ſtory is told in verſe upon the monument, and the basrelief, repreſenting the fight between CHOROEBUS and the Pœna, is eſteemed the moſt ancient piece of ſculpture in Greece. I have been down at Niſæa, their port and arſenal; it ſtands lower than the town, and is well furniſhed with naval ſtores. A trireme is juſt come in with advice, that the Athenian fleet is ſailed with a fair wind for Leſbos. We ſhall ſtay here a day more, and then proceed for Corinth, which is our next ſtage: from thence I ſhall write to the chief ſcribe, as the cuſtoms and antiquities of that city will afford ample materials for the obſervation of inquiſitive travellers.

I cannot give thee a better idea of the humanity and politeneſs, for which the Grecians are ſo famous, than by concluding with an account of the manner in which ſtrangers of any diſtinction are received in the towns through which they paſs. The perſon who entertains meets his company at the door of his houſe, and conducts them into the hall, where he

preſents them with bread, wine, and ſalt, which is conſidered as a ſacrifice or libation to JUPITER XENIOS, or the Hoſpitable. Then they refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of the journey by bathing, which is followed by ſupper, accompanied with muſic, or the enlivening poetry of ſome wandering *Aoidos*, or bard. It is cuſtomary at parting for the hoſt and his gueſts to interchange ſome little preſents, to divide a piece of money or ivory, as a pledge of eternal friendſhip. So inviolably are the rites of hoſpitality preſerved, that war itſelf does not deſtroy them. The Greeks, potent ſatrap, cannot be ſufficiently commended for paying this ſtrict regard to thoſe common ties that diſtinguiſh mankind from the brutes, and which are agreeable to the practice of the remoteſt ages, as well as to the condition of our nature. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LXVII.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES. *From* Corinth.

WE have been arrived at Corinth ſome days, which is eſteemed one of the richeſt, largeſt, and moſt beautiful cities in Greece. Its ſituation, thou muſt have heard, is very extraordinary. It ſtands upon a neck of land about five miles over, which joins Peloponneſus to the reſt of Greece. This iſthmus lies between

the two bays, the Criſſæan and the Saronic, the one formed by the Ionian, the other by the Ægean ſea. Upon each of theſe bays the Corinthians have an harbour, one called Lechæum, and the other Cenchreæ. The latter is the moſt conſiderable. Here ſtands likewiſe a temple to NEPTUNE, where the ſtatues of the victors at the Iſthmian games are erected; a theatre, and a ſtadium. The approach to the town through a grove of cypreſs trees is very pleaſant. The buildings are moſt of them elegant and ſpacious, and, as well as the ſtatues and pictures, finiſhed by the beſt maſters; for this place, amongſt other advantages, is celebrated for producing eminent artiſts in architecture, painting, and ſculpture. By the favor of CHYLON, one of the magiſtrates, at whoſe houſe we are lodged, I have ſurveyed all the curioſities of Corinth, and ſhall give thee an account of the moſt remarkable. Several of their public edifices ſtand round the forum. In the middle is a ſtatue of MINERVA, with the muſes carved on the baſe of the pedeſtal. Next to this is an aqueduct adorned with a brazen NEPTUNE, at whoſe feet lies a dolphin, that ſpouts out water. On each ſide ariſe the ſuperb temples of VENUS, FORTUNE, and one dedicated to all the gods. The fountain of Priene lies at the foot of the craggy mountain Acrocorinthus: it is ſo named from the nymph PRIENE, who lamented the death of her daughter, killed accidentally at the chaſe by DIANA, with ſuch torrents of tears, that ſhe was turned into a ſpring. The water

is remarkable for the ſweetneſs of its taſte. The fountain is adorned with white marble, a ſtatue of APOLLO, and a bas-relief repreſenting the fight between ULYSSES and the ſuitors.

The citadel is built upon the top of Acrocorinthus; and is reckoned, both by the natural ſituation of the place, and the advantages it has received from art, impregnable. From hence you have the fineſt proſpect imaginable of the Ionian and Ægean ſeas. Whilſt we were viewing the citadel, we ſaw three Corinthian gallies engaged with as many Athenian; the latter ſeemed to be ſuperior, till two more ſailing from Cenchrea to join their countrymen, they were obliged to bear away before the reinforcement came up. The baths at Corinth are magnificent, particularly thoſe of NEPTUNE; at the entrance are two ſtatues of the god leaning on an anchor, and DIANA in an hunting dreſs. The aqueducts and fountains are numerous, and give a coolneſs to the city in the greateſt heats of ſummer. One, called the fountain of Lerna, is ſurrounded with rows of trees, and ſupported by marble columns, and there are ſeats round it, covered with tapeſtry. Its neighbourhood to the gymnaſium and muſic theatre render it the moſt frequented of any in the city. They boaſt here of ſeveral pieces of the ſculptor DÆDALUS, which, though rough and unpoliſhed, ſhow a fire and ſpirit that ſupply the want of correctneſs.

The Corinthians are much inclined to eaſe and diverſion; the maſculine ſimplicity of Sparta is unknown to them, neither do they

cultivate learning like the Athenians. VENUS is the goddeſs whom they adore moſt fervently; their ſtreets are crowded with her temples, and almoſt every day in the kalendar is marked by ſome feſtival to her honor. The hoſpitality, which ſo particularly diſtinguiſhes the Greeks, prevails here in the ſame degree that it does every where elſe. Our quality of enemies does not hinder us from being received with the politeneſs of neighbours and friends; and thou mayeſt imagine there are no ſmall numbers of Athenians, who take this place in their way to Olympia. I have found no difficulty in prevailing with my company to ſtay here ſome days longer. I propoſe by it to gain time for making a diſpatch to the chief ſcribe. My delay proceeds likewiſe from a more private motive: HIPPIAS ſends me word, that he will join our Olympic party from Epheſus in a few days. We ſhall afterwards proceed directly through Argolis, Achaia, and Elis, to the games. I kiſs thy robe, noble ſatrap, and bid thee adieu, wiſhing thou mayeſt find the ſame entertainment in my letters that I receive from the circumſtances which occaſion them.

P.

LETTER LXVIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Corinth.

THE city where I now am, potent lord, hath undergone ſeveral revolutions in its government. From a little obſcure town called Ephyra, it was raiſed into a kingdom by SISYPHUS, whoſe poſterity reigned over it near two hundred years. They were diſpoſſeſſed by the Heraclidæ, or deſcendants of HERCULES; and theſe in their turn gave way to the Bacchidæ, a noble Corinthian family, which took the adminiſtration of affairs into their hands, and, elected an annual magiſtrate out of their own body, whom they called the Prytanis. During their government, the Corinthians planted the two famous colonies of Syracuſe and Corcyra, which are both grown to ſuch a height of power and wealth, as to have no ſort of dependance on their mother city. Thou knoweſt, that the quarrels of the latter with Corinth, relating to Epidamnus, were the firſt ſparks that ſet Greece in a flame. CYPSELUS the ſon of LABDA, of the race of the Bacchidæ, who for her deformity had been married out of it, fulfilled the Delphic oracle, by diſſolving this ariſtocracy, and uſurping the throne. Through the mildneſs of his temper, and the popularity of his behaviour, he reigned quietly thirty years, and left the crown at his death to his ſon PERIANDER. The Corinthians ſtill retain

the utmoſt abhorrence for the memory of this tyrant. His fear of the people made him always keep a ſtrong guard about his perſon, and take off the heads of the moſt eminent citizens. Nor was his cruelty confined to the public; it exerted itſelf equally in private life. He put his wife MELISSA to death at the inſtigation of his concubines, and baniſhed his ſon LYCOPHRON to Corcyra, for reſenting the ill-treatment of his mother. PERIANDER afterwards ſent for him to ſettle the ſucceſſion upon him; but the Corcyreans, apprehenſive that the old tyrant would come and reign over them, prevented it by killing the young prince. This news ſo afflicted the father, that he died for grief at the age of fourſcore. The Corinthians took hold of ſo favorable an opportunity to reſume their liberties, and eſtabliſhed a government, which is a mixture of ariſtocracy and democracy. The ſenate is perpetual, and choſen out of a certain number of the moſt ancient families; but the aſſemblies of the people have a large ſhare of power.

The ſituation and naval force of Corinth render it one of the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Greece. By the former they command the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, and poſſeſs the only paſs of communication between Peloponneſus and the continent; for which reaſon the citadel, or Acrocorinthus, is uſually called the Eye, and the city the Fetter, of Greece. Had XERXES, after forcing the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, marched directly to the Iſthmus, before the united forces of Greece were aſſembled there,

and the fortifications completed, which were raiſed to defend the country, he muſt have made himſelf maſter of Corinth, and would then have had two fine harbours for his ſhips to lie in, and a ſecure retreat for his land army. Had he even loſt a battle, he might have waited here for reinforcements; nor would the lord of millions have been reduced to the neceſſity of croſſing the Helleſpont in a fiſhing-boat. Suffer not, illuſtrious ſatrap, the miſfortunes of our anceſtors to diſcourage thoſe who ſucceed them; let them rather ſerve to improve their conduct. When Perſia would revenge the ſhame which ſhe ſuffered at Salamis, this ſhould be her firſt enterpriſe; and to render the ſucceſs more aſſured, I ſent plans of the citadel, and the entrance into the ports of Lechæum, and Cenchrea, which with great difficulty I have obtained. The Corinthian fleet is at preſent the moſt conſiderable in Greece, next to the Athenian. They fitted out twenty-five gallies againſt XERXES, made an equipment of ſixty in the war with Corcyra, and engaged PHORMIO laſt year with ſeventy ſail.

I tranſmit to thee encloſed the intelligence which our laſt letters brought from Athens, by which thou mayeſt perceive the ſtate of affairs there ſince my departure; and when I write from Olympia, I ſhall uſe the ſame method. Farewel.

Extract of a Letter from Athens.

A trireme is arrived from CLIPPIDES, with advice, that upon his arrival before Mitylene,

he found the inhabitants apprized of his expedition, and that they had deferred their annual ſolemnity; that they utterly refuſed to comply with his demands, and had even attempted to ſurpriſe ſome of his ſhips, which by ſtreſs of weather were ſeparated from the reſt, but were ſoon repulſed. As he apprehended he had not ſtrength to reduce the iſland, he had complied with their offer of making a ſuſpenſion of arms, and ſending over deputies to Athens.

Extract of another Letter.

The deputies of Leſbos are juſt upon their departure, without ſucceſs. We ſuſpect that they only came to gain time, ſince we have certain information that their ambaſſadors are on their way to the general aſſembly of the allies at Olympia. We are preparing a reinforcement of twenty gallies for CLIPPIDES, and hear that ten from Corcyra have joined him; ſo that the port of Mitylene is entirely blocked up.

P.

LETTER LXIX.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES. *From* Olympia.

As I am willing to hope that my correſpondence is not diſagreeable, I ſhall proceed to lay before thee ſome farther particulars of my Olympic expedition. The firſt town of note we arrived at, after leaving Corinth, was Sicyon, a large and flouriſhing city, formerly governed by kings, but now a republican ſtate. From thence we croſſed the river Aſopus, and proceeded through the delightful plains of Arcadia, and the territory of Elis, to Olympia. We have found ſufficient employment ſince our arrival, in viewing the antiquities and curioſities of the place, particularly the temple of JUPITER OLYMPIUS, the grove called Altis, wherein it is built, and the plain of Pelops. The architect of this temple was LIBO the Elean. It is covered on the roof with marble cut in the form of tiles, and the ſhell of the ſtructure is white ſtone; on the top of the pediment is a ſtatue, Victory holding a golden buckler, engraven with Meduſa's head; a preſent of the Lacedæmonians and Argives after the battle of Tanagra, to the Athenians. The pediment of the principal front is adorned with ſculpture, repreſenting the ſtory of PELOPS winning the daughter of OENOMAUS king of Elis, at the chariot courſe. It is ſaid to be the work of a native of Mendez, a city in Thrace. In the pediment of the back

front, is the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, executed by ALCAMENES, a celebrated Athenian ſculptor. Two brazen gates afford a ſpacious entrance into the body of the temple, and two ranges of columns, ſupporting two galleries raiſed to a very conſiderable height, lead up to the throne of JUPITER. The eyes of every ſpectator muſt be immediately ſtruck with the ſtatue of that deity at the upper end, which the nearer it is approached the more it excites admiration. This ſtatue is univerſally eſteemed the maſter-piece of PHIDIAS, who took his idea of it from a ſublime deſcription in HOMER of that god. The materials are gold and ivory. The image has on its head a crown of gold reſembling the branches of an olive tree. In his right hand he holds a Victory, formed of gold and ivory; in his left a ſceptre, exquiſitely poliſhed, inlaid with a variety of metals, and ſurmounted with an eagle. The mantle is gold, embroidered with various animals and flowers. There is a ſerene majeſty in the look, which at once creates love and veneration, and puts one in mind of HOMER's epithet for him, *The father of gods and men.* The throne is anſwerable to the magnificence of the deity who fills it. It is embelliſhed on all ſides with different ornaments. At the four corners of the throne are ſeen the graces and hours in a circling dance; at the bottom are two lions, one of which holds a ſhield in his paw, whereon is ſculptured the battle of THESEUS and the Amazons. Before all theſe, is raiſed an encloſure breaſt-high, where the

pencil of PANÆNUS has exerted itſelf in painting ſuch ſubjects as may have a proper effect to animate thoſe ſpectators who intend to enter the liſts. There is HERCULES relieving PROMETHEUS; the ſame hero ſupporting the globe, in the room of ATLAS. The prieſt who accompanied us, told us, that PHIDIAS, after he had finiſhed the ſtatue, having begged of JUPITER to give him ſome token that his workmanſhip had not diſpleaſed him, immediately the pavement near him was ſtruck with lightning; and in memory of the miracle, a brazen urn was placed over the ſpot. I could not help looking at a row of pillars in the ſanctuary, which are hung round with tablets of treaties between the Grecian ſtates, depoſited, as it were, under the guardianſhip of JUPITER. But their reverence to the ſupreme deity is not ſo powerful an incitement to preſerve the articles of them inviolate, as their intereſt or reſentment is to induce them to infringe them. Our company was with difficulty drawn away from viewing theſe wonderful performances, which do ſo much honor to the Grecian maſters, to walk over the reſt of the temple, and particularly to ſurvey that noble collection of preſents and offerings, which are made either by victors at the games, to ſhow their gratitude, or by princes and foreign ſtates, to teſtify their veneration to the god. There are laid up in the ſacred treaſury, vaſes emboſſed with gold, robes ſtiff with embroidery and gems, ſtatues and pictures, which not only dazzle, but fatigue the ſight. You ſee particularly a chariot and

four brazen horſes, ſent by CYNISCA, daughter of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, the firſt perſon of her ſex who won the chariot-prize at Olympia.

When we had ſatisfied our curioſity within the temple, we were led out of a gate in the northern ſide into the Pelopion, or plain of Pelops, which is planted with rows of trees, interſperſed with innumerable altars and ſtatues of divinities and heroes. The Pelopion and Altis encloſe above ſixty of the former alone, conſecrated to the different deities of Greece. Near the gate ſtands an altar to Olympian JUPITER, of a very ſingular ſtructure; for it is wholly built out of aſhes from the thighs of the ſacrificed victims. Several ſteps lead to the top; the firſt half are ſtone, the others are made of a cement of aſhes, mixed with water from the river Alpheus, which runs by Olympia round the walls of the Altis. And in the neighbourhood of it are erected the ſtatues of the moſt renowned amongſt thoſe who have gained prizes at the games, with inſcriptions ſignifying the number of crowns they have won, and ſometimes that they were the firſt who conquered at ſuch an exerciſe. Here is one of the famous MILO of Crotona, who, after winning ſix prizes at Olympia, and as many at Delphi, is come, though advanced in years, to put in his claim for the thirteenth victory. A little way out of the town, near the mountain Cronius, are monuments to the eternal infamy of ſuch as either by fraud or corruption have obtained the prize; and the expenſes

are defrayed out of the fines fet upon them. An inſcription on the ſtatue of one EUPOLUS records, that he had bribed three of his competitors at wreſtling, and was the firſt who had tainted the ſanctity of the games. It concludes with an admonition, that the Olympic palm was not to be acquired by money, but addreſs and vigor alone. I ſhall juſt mention the temple of JUNO, which ſtands north of the Pelopion, whoſe ſplendor and magnificence is far eclipſed by that of the thunderer. The ſtatues are many of them in the old taſte. The greateſt rarity is a coffer, preſented by CYPSELUS tyrant of Corinth, which would take up a letter to deſcribe fully: the ſides are ornamented in the richeſt manner with painting and has-reliefs, that include the moſt remarkable ſubjects in the fabulous hiſtory of Greece. In the way leading to the Prytaneum is a ſtatue of JUPITER, erected at the joint coſt of the Grecian ſtates that fought againſt MARDONIUS at Platæa. The names of them, beginning with the Lacedæmonians, followed by the Athenians and the reſt in order, are engraved on the baſis of the pedeſtal.

I can aſſure thee, potent lord, that nothing I have yet ſeen in Greece or Aſia equals in any degree the magnificence and elegance that appear in the ſtructures here. One may ſay, that architecture, painting, and ſculpture, have not only united their utmoſt efforts, but even exhauſted the ſecrets of their arts, to render Olympia worthy its tutelar deity, and the games exhibited to his honor. I have neither

memory

memory nor leiſure to relate the tenth part of the various entertainment which this place affords me; and from what I have already ſaid, thou wilt not wonder that every fifth year renders it the univerſal reſort both of natives and foreigners. I cannot conclude more properly, than by laying before thee the beſt account I am able to collect upon the ſpot, of the origin and alterations which have happened in theſe ancient and celebrated games. There are two ſtories equally prevalent in the country relating to their firſt inſtitution; the one aſcribes it to the Curetes, JUPITER's tutors; the other to the god himſelf, after the defeat of the Titans. They ſuffered afterwards long interruptions, and were ſeverally renewed by HERCULES, and PELOPS, when he had won HIPPODAMIA, the daughter of OENOMAUS, at a chariot-race. This part of their hiſtory is fabulous and uncertain; but I think all agree that they were eſtabliſhed on their preſent footing by IPHITUS, a deſcendant of OXYLUS, king of Elis, about four hundred and eight years after the taking of Troy. It was at that period they took a regular form; then gymnaſiums and places of exerciſe were ſet up, and directors of the games, or Hellanodicæ, appointed. Thoſe officers are now nine in number, choſen by lot from amongſt the principal inhabitants of Elis, whoſe territory is declared ſacred, and thoſe accounted impious and ſacrilegious who invade it. From enjoying theſe honors and immunities, Elis is become one of the beſt peopled ſtates in Greece. Every one, of what

nation or quality ſoever, who intends to be a competitor in the games, is obliged to preſent himſelf before the magiſtrates in the Prytaneum, and take an oath at the altar of JUPITER there, that he had for the ten preceding months performed a kind of novitiate in the exerciſes, which he propoſes, to appear in at the games; and that he would ſtrictly adhere to the terms preſcribed for each exerciſe. Then a herald with a loud voice demands, if no one preſent can accuſe the candidate of any crime or miſdemeanor, which renders him unworthy to contend for the crown of olive. If no objections are made, the name of the perſon is enrolled in a public regiſter, and himſelf diſmiſſed till the day of trial. The wreſtlers are divided into two claſſes, that of children, and that of men; the former are admitted from the age of twelve to ſeventeen. Women are not allowed, under pain of death, to be preſent at any part of the ſolemnity.

As the games, which are always fixed for the full moon in Ekatombeon, will begin in a few days, thou mayeſt expect that this letter will ſoon be followed by another, containing a full account of the whole repreſentation. Farewel. P.

LETTER LXX.

HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

I CAN no longer contain myſelf, CLEANDER, from returning my thanks for thoſe agreeable letters I have received from thee on thy journey to Olympia. I value thy friendſhip above all I have contracted, ſince it is ſo far from cooling in a foreign climate, that it grows warmer in abſence, and perpetually turns thee back to thy country and acquaintance, amidſt a variety of new objects to engage thy attention.

I imagine ere this time thou art informed of Sacas's conſpiracy by the noble GOBRIAS, and the ſeveral ſteps which have been already taken in that affair. The queen-mother and the fair Damaſcan having found the king inexorable to their prayers in favor of the criminal, at laſt withdrew their interceſſion. Nothing then remained but to put the ſentence of the ſupreme council in execution: however, it was firſt thought proper that he ſhould be privately examined before MEGABYZUS and the chief ſcribe. Upon that occaſion, I am told, diſcoveries of importance were extorted from him by the rack; and that he has accuſed many of the ſatraps of Media, who were involved in the ſame guilt. This report is a good deal confirmed by the expreſs, who went lately into that province with orders from our potent monarch, that PANDATES, MINDUS, and OXYATHRES, three Median lords, ſhould repair to

Babylon without delay. He brings word, that the latter is fled, and that his two accomplices, not ſuſpecting the danger, are ſecured by a ſtrong guard. GOBRYAS is much buſied in watching the intrigues of thoſe, who are endeavouring to trace out from what quarter theſe horrid practices were laid open. A few days ſince the perfidious eunuch received the juſt reward of his treaſons, and was boated, according to the ſevere penalties inflicted on traitors by the law of Perſia. The hunting ſeat, that belonged to him in the foreſt of Niſa, and all his riches, are confiſcated to the king's uſe, which are valued at more than an hundred thouſand darics. I have myſelf ſome deſign of applying for a grant of the former, as it will be a very convenient receſs for me, whenever a change in the miniſtry, the death of my royal maſter, or the infirmities of old age, oblige me to leave the toilſome attendance of a court-life.

PYRACMON the Lacedæmonian agent is gone back to Sparta, without an audience of leave. For as he has never appeared regularly in the character of a public miniſter during his ſtay here, by reaſon of his obſtinate refuſal to comply with the ceremony of proſtration at his arrival, it was impoſſible for me to admit him into the king's preſence. At the ſame time that the ruling magiſtrates in Lacedæmon have recalled PYRACMON, they have ſent us another in his room, whoſe name is NICANDER. From the judgment I have been able to form of him, he is as ſtrange a creature as his countryman,

and is poſſeſſed of all the uncouthneſs and indelicacy, which ſeem inherent in every member of that military republic. As ſoon as he came within the walls of the palace, he deſired to be preſented to ARTAXERXES as a commiſſioner from Thebes, that he might avoid going through the forms of an audience in the quality of a Lacedæmonian; and being aſked, if he had brought any powers from that ſtate to treat with the Great King; he replied, Yes, but that his inſtructions were more conſiderable from his native city. I was ordered by the miniſters of our ſublime court to tell him, that this was regarded as a trifling evaſion of the homage paid to our ſovereign by the miniſters of every ſtate; and that though he intended it to preſerve (as he proudly thought) the dignity of a Spartan, yet ſuch mean and ſhifting arts were much below the character of politeneſs, which the Greeks aſſumed to themſelves; and he muſt conſent to be received as an Ambaſſador from Lacedæmon, or not at all. The delivery of this meſſage had its due weight; and in a ſurly manner he ſubmitted. But I obſerved, when I conducted him into the royal chamber, agreeably to the uſual ceremony, he dropped a ring, which he wore upon his finger, and in ſtooping to recover it, made an awkward reverence to our monarch. I ſaw immediately, by the reſentment which ſparkled in the king's eyes, that this behaviour gave offence, and the conference was ſhort; but that wiſe counſellor MEGABYZUS

has adviſed him to ſuffer reaſons of policy to ſuperſede the motions of anger.

To give thee a further inſight into the manners of the man, I muſt tell thee of a circumſtance, which will excite thy laughter; that in all his converſations with GOBRYAS he diſdains the offered civility of that courteous miniſter, by throwing his body on the floor of the apartment, where they meet together, inſtead of reſting himſelf upon the ſofa of ſtate. It was intimated to me one day, that it would be proper to invite NICANDER to an entertainment of dancing and muſic, which was ordered that evening in the magnificent hall of DARIUS. I took INTAPHERNES along with me, and we went about noon to wait upon NICANDER. We were introduced to him without any form, and found him dining alone very heartily on a meſs of the famous black broth, which I conjecture from the coarſe appearance of it muſt be a deteſtable repaſt to any but a Lacedæmonian ſtomach. The perſon who attended him, was an Helot ſlave, whom he had brought along with him to Babylon, becauſe of his happy talent in preparing it. He received my invitation very coldly, and anſwered me with roughneſs, declaring, that he came upon a matter of buſineſs, not a party of pleaſure. We left him with a contempt for the narrowneſs of his temper, and a thorough perſuaſion of his incapacity to ſerve in foreign negotiations.

CRATIPPUS, the ſophiſt of Rhodes, who has been employed for ſome time in GOBRYAS's office, informed me yeſterday under the ſeal

of ſecrecy, that he was going upon a private expedition to Sparta; and that he ſhould be very glad to maintain a correſpondence with one, whom he had ſo high an opinion of as yourſelf. He ſaid, although that city was at a conſiderable diſtance from Athens, yet, as he fancied you and he ſhould be almoſt the only well-wiſhers to the king of Perſia in the territories of Greece, he would certainly find a method of communicating his thoughts to you frequently and without reſerve. I congratulate thee, CLEANDER, on being joint-laborer with a perſon of CRATIPPUS's uncommon parts and learning. He is a man of ſuch dexterity and addreſs, that whether he converſes with the ſuperſtitious Ægyptians, or the effeminate Ionians, whether he conforms to the ſimplicity of the Perſians, or the ſplendor of the Medes, he is equally cheerful and agreeable. In a word, he ſeems deſigned by nature for a citizen of the world; and I dare ſay, will be as much pleaſed with the water-creſſes and brown loaves of Sparta, as with all the rich wines and luxury of Aſia. Such a character as this, which I deſcribe to thee, can only be the reſult of good ſenſe and a ſuperior underſtanding.

I hope thou and I, my friend, ſhall never know, what it is to be like the deſpicable NICANDER, but rather imitate the rational turn of CRATIPPUS. The manners of various nations are generally as different as their political intereſts; and it argues a littleneſs of mind, to think the peculiarities of one's own country are drawn out of the depths of wiſdom, while

the cuſtoms of another deſerve to be branded with folly. Thou wilt ſmile perhaps at a courtier, who concludes with the ſpirit of a philoſopher; but I leave it to thy determination, whether a low partiality to the manners of thoſe who inhabit one ſpot upon the globe, in oppoſition to the reſt of the world, is not a kind of immorality, as well as a ſubject of ridicule.

From Babylon. C.

LETTER LXXI.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

I Do not know, whether I am more pleaſed or aſhamed at the letters I receive from thee. I ought not to want a ſpur to ſuch an unequal correſpondence; for while thou tranſmitteſt to me foreign arts and knowledge, the boaſted commodities of Greece, all the return I make is from the cheap and familiar produce of our own country. They letters convince me of the vanity of Greece in valuing herſelf upon ſcience, as her property, which thou haſt gained ſuch an inſight into, (though it is matter of amuſement to thee, rather than any part of thy buſineſs,) that thou couldſt eaſily tranſplant it hither, were it compatible with the policy of our government. But the true Perſian maxims would make the refinements of Greece needleſs by contracting our wants, and ſecuring

us from the encroachments of luxury, which require so many ministering and attendant arts in her retinue. To speak truth, and draw the bow, is indeed an abridgment of a true Persian education; which implies, that our bodies should be fitted for the service of our country, and our minds habituated to sincerity and virtue. The faculties of man, I presume, cannot be laid out in a more laudable service. How little pleasing soever the simplicity of this plan may be to a Greek, the great ends may more certainly, and with less danger of corruption, be attained by it, which they propose to themselves by more indirect and laborious methods of study. I suppose the people of Athens desire to hear truth, when they listen to their orators, and these are thought best qualified to deliver it; yet no man will say, that to speak truth is an art, or requires any labor of the brain. What then is meant by the talent of eloquence, which is attained with such difficulty? If it be to conceal truth, or to disguise falshood, so that it shall not be known, or to give it so amiable a dress, that we shall receive it knowingly; this indeed requires skill, but is no great accomplishment; nor should I think myself at all obliged to a man for being at so much pains to lead me out of my way. I guess the young philosopher you speak of is not addicted to oratory. Doth Socrates, who professes and teaches others to study themselves, affect it? I scarce believe so: the man, who searches his own breast, finds, that truth has a right to precedence there, and that the tongue

ſhould interpret the heart. SOCRATES has prudently diſengaged himſelf from the boaſted wiſdom of his country, by profeſſing his ignorance and diſregard of it, in compariſon of that which tends immediately to the cultivation of the mind, and eſtabliſhing an univerſal rule for human actions. This no doubt muſt be his aim, and he ſeems to bid fair for ſucceſs; for he, who would preſcribe to others, muſt learn from himſelf what maxims he could be content to be governed by. He muſt firſt draw reaſon from his own breaſt; and then it will be ratified by common conſent, when it comes to be re-applied to the underſtanding of others. The ſophiſt impoſes upon us falſe principles; and if our reaſon be too buſy in examining them, he entangles it in inextricable ſubtilties. The legiſlator demands our aſſent by the terror of his power; but SOCRATES, like a true rationaliſt, affects not to ſubdue our paſſions, without leaving every man an appeal to his own judgment, and thereby diſtinguiſhes the moraliſt from the politic legiſlator and falſe philoſopher, who equally aim at ſubjecting us to their own abſolute authority, under pretence of reforming our prejudices. This wiſe man's ſtudy of himſelf may be attended with great conſequences in bringing to light the dictates of reaſon, which are of undeniable authority, and nothing leſs than the original revelation of OROMASDES. The divine will being thus aſcertained, the wiſe and virtuous will have a rational expectation of a recompence to their obedience; and the well-grounded hope of this

reward will add weight to the reaſons of the moraliſt, and confirm his whole ſyſtem. It is eaſy for us, whom uncorrupt traditions and the books of ZOROASTER have inſtructed in worthy notions of the Deity, to think what is ſo agreeable to our reaſon may be traced out by it alone. But if human reaſon is inſufficient to penetrate ſo far into the divine œconomy, may OROMASDES put himſelf in the way of this glorious inquirer; and thus perhaps ſhall his doctrine diffuſe itſelf univerſally, and the holy flame be lighted up in the temples of the weſt. Thou ſeemeſt, CLEANDER, to have no mean opinion of the Greek philoſophers, and perhaps mayeſt think them worth undeceiving in ſome wrong conceptions of the Perſian religion. When OTANES, the great deſcendant of ZERDUSHT, accompanied XERXES into Greece, he ſhed the firſt dawn of divine light amongſt them; but they are perpetually miſinformed by travellers, who attend only to appearances, and repreſent ſome external rites, which they obſerve amongſt us, as the ſubſtance of our worſhip. I have been told, they have adopted ſome of the rites of Ægypt which the Ægyptians themſelves uſed only as a ſymbol; ſo inſenſible are they to what is myſterious and exalted. They have no other than viſible objects of adoration; and their apprehenſion ſeems at a loſs in every thing that is veiled from the ſenſe. Thus becauſe we religiouſly preſerve the purity of the elements, and think it impious by any unnatural commixture to pollute them, which in the creation

were ſeparated and ordered to be kept without defilement, they call us worſhippers of theſe elements; a miſtake into which HERODOTUS himſelf is fallen. I once met with a Greek, whoſe ignorance of my character made him uſe his national freedom towards me: Greece, ſaid he, has no reaſon to regret the attempts which Perſia has made on her liberty, ſince ſhe has been rewarded with immortal honor; and the barbarity of XERXES will be an eternal ſtain to Perſia, who deſtroyed all the temples of Greece, from a pretended diſlike of the uſe of them, while ſtill they were approved in Perſia. I told him, they were deſtroyed, becauſe they were ſaid to contain a God within them, which was found to be no other perhaps than an image of wood, which had been made and placed there by its worſhippers. To this he gave me what he thought a very ſufficient anſwer, that, inſtead of burning the temples, XERXES ſhould have ſet fire to the images, which would in that condition have been fit objects for a Perſian worſhipper. The petulance of the man betrayed his ignorance, who had not made himſelf ſo far acquainted with us, as to know, that fire was a ſacred ſymbol, which ZERDUSHT brought down from heaven, to remind us, that this element is not more neceſſary to the bodies, than the cheriſhing influence of the Deity is to the ſouls of men.

May thy wiſdom, CLEANDER, contribute to reduce theſe contemptuous Greeks to the yoke of Perſia, which they have hitherto ſurpriſingly eſcaped. Who would have thought

but XERXES had joined them to his dominions, when he linked the two continents together with his fleet! How near was DATIS executing his great maſter's order, who was commanded to ſend the inhabitants of Athens and Eretria in chains to Perſia? Eretria was incompaſſed and taken, and all its proud citizens ſent hither, to gratify the will of their conqueror, where they now mourn their ſervitude. And had ſucceſs accompanied our arms at Marathon, the city, where thou now reſideſt, had been unpeopled, and her ſons tranſported to cultivate the deſert lands of Perſia, or, ſcattered over our numerous provinces, had been utterly deprived of all hope of uniting themſelves again into a community. Farewel.

From Balch. H.

LETTER LXXII.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

THE games, which raiſed ſo great an expectation, and drew together ſuch a multitude of ſpectators, are now over; and I believe moſt of thoſe, who were preſent, are employed like me in giving an account to their abſent friends, of the remarkable circumſtances that attended them. On the day appointed for the opening of the games, the whole aſſembly had early taken their places in the ſtadium of Olympia. The ſpot, where the combatants

engage, is in the form of an arena or pit, and covered with ſand. The ſeats riſe round it one above another. The two firſt days out of the five allotted for the celebration of this ſolemnity, were appointed for the wreſtling and boxing. The names of the candidates for the prize in thoſe exerciſes, were read over before the people by a herald. Then a ſilver urn was produced, containing a number of balls equal to that of the combatants, and each pair was matched together, who drew out two balls, on which the ſame letters of the alphabet were inſcribed. After the competitors had rendered their bodies firm and ſupple by rubbing and pouring oil upon them, they beſmeared them with fine ſand, to give the better hold for grappling. Several matches went forward at the ſame time. To obtain the victory it is requiſite to give two falls, and renew the combat three times. If a wreſtler, who is thrown, pulls his adverſary down with him, they muſt grapple together upon the ground, till one of them getting uppermoſt conſtrains the other to aſk for mercy. Then the acclamations of the ſpectators, which continue with various interruptions whilſt the trial of ſkill laſts, are redoubled. The Hellanodicæ preſent the victor with the crown of olive, a branch of palm, and a robe, on the very ſpot where he was engaged. In this equipage, preceded by a herald, he croſſes the ſtadium amidſt the ſhouts and praiſes of that innumerable concourſe of people. His name and country are proclaimed by ſound of trumpet; flowers, girdles, money,

and other preſents of that nature, are thrown upon him as he paſſes along. An odd accident happened to MILO of Crotona. That famous wreſtler preſented himſelf, but found no antagoniſt; upon which the preſidents of the games called him to preſent him with the crown, but as he advanced forwards to receive it, he fell down. The people immediately cried out, that one, who could not keep himſelf upon his legs, did not deſerve the honors due to a conqueror. The old man looked round, and anſwered with a great deal of ſpirit, "'Tis true I have got one accidental "fall, but I would willingly ſee any man "amongſt you, who could give me a ſecond." When theſe matches were over, the ſtadium was left clear for the boxers. They were armed for this rude encounter with the cæſtus, a leathern gauntlet, which folds round the fingers and upper part of the hand, and is faſtened at the wriſt, and ſtrengthened on the outſide with plates of iron or lead. I muſt own, though the agility and ſuppleneſs of the wreſtlers, and their various artifices to give or avoid a fall, afforded me ſome pleaſure, I could not behold without a ſecret horror the rough blows, which the boxers ſo unmercifully dealt on each other. It is no uncommon thing at theſe matches to ſee a contuſion raiſed in the face, an eye ſtruck out, or a jaw-bone cracked, by the tremendous blows of the cæſtus. ANDROLICHUS, one of the boxers, appeared like an object who intended to excite the charity rather than the applauſes of the

aſſembly. He loſt an eye at Piſa, his foreteeth at Nemea, had his noſe flattened at Delphi, and was carried off for dead here. That thou mayeſt the better judge, how diſagreeable the ſpectacle muſt be to one, in whom cuſtom has not effaced the ſoft impreſſions of humanity, I will tell thee a remarkable incident, to which I was myſelf an eye-witneſs. Two boxers, CREUGAS and DAMOXENES, agreed, on the point of engaging, to give each other notice of every blow. The agreement was ill-kept; for DAMOXENES having bid his adverſary lift up his hand, ſtruck him on the ſide with ſuch violence, that partly with the force of the blow, partly the ſharpneſs of his nails, he pierced his belly, and tore out his entrails. CREUGAS expired on the ſpot. The crown was decreed him, though dead, and DAMOXENES was puniſhed for his barbarity with perpetual baniſhment. The boxer who ſhowed moſt ſkill, was THEAGENES of Syracuſe. He had acquired ſuch a ſtrength in his wriſts, that merely by parrying the blows of his competitor, and holding him at arm's length, he obliged him, out of wearineſs, to reſign the victory.

The Pancratiaſts, Pentathloi, and the Throwers of the Diſcus, made their appearance on the third day. The performance of the firſt is a mixture of wreſtling and boxing; it borrows from the one thoſe violent contortions of the limbs and ſhakes of the body; from the other, the art of ſtriking and avoiding a blow. It is one of the rougheſt and moſt dangerous exerciſes, of which we had an inſtance

inſtance in ARACHION of Sparta. That brave Pancratiaſt having received ſo violent a ſqueeze from his antagoniſt, that he was on the point of being ſtrangled, had ſtrength enough remaining to break the other's jaw, and obliged him to aſk for mercy, though the victor himſelf expired the moment after. The Hellanodicæ ordered ARACHION to be crowned, as he lay dead on the ſtadium. The expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction in the aſſembly at the brave action of the Spartan are not to be deſcribed.

The Pentathloi are a particular ſet of combatants, who have acquired ſuch a maſtery at wreſtling, boxing, throwing the diſcus, running, and caſting the javelin, as to perform in each the ſame day. They make it a rule never to match a Pentathlos with another who has made one of theſe exerciſes alone his employment; as they ſuppoſe very reaſonably, that a perſon who has divided his time between ſo many different occupations, cannot be equal to one who has applied his whole time to be perfect in a ſingle exerciſe.

The diſcus is a huge maſs of iron of a roundiſh ſhape, and poliſhed ſurface. Thoſe who throw it, lean the whole weight of their body upon one of their legs, which they ſtep forwards; they whirl the diſcus round horizontally, and caſt it from them with their utmoſt force. He who throws fartheſt, obtains the prize.

The fourth day was taken up with runners on foot, and the race-horſes. The ſtadium for the former is compoſed of three parts; the

entrance, which is marked by a barrier of wood; the middle, which is a rising ground, where the crowns are placed in sight of their competitors; and the goal, which is distinguished by a large tree or post. There are two sorts of racers: those who run naked; and those who are armed with a light helmet, a target, and a sort of buskin. There are likewise three sorts of courses: the course of the stadium, which is only from the barrier to the goal; the diaulos, which is twice the length of the stadium; and the dolicus, which is much longer than either. DOLICHUS of Tarsus in Cilicia won the prize; and a poet has made an epigram, the turn of which is, that the "barrier and the goal are the only "places where the young Cilician is seen; for "no one can say, he was ever perceived in "the middle of the course."

In the afternoon we removed to the hippodrome or horse-course, which was laid out by the architect CLEATAS, and is looked upon as one of the curiosities of Greece. That part of it called the barrier, where the horses and cars assemble before they enter the lists, by the disposition of the ground and buildings round it, resembles the prow of a ship. It grows narrower towards the end, and forms a kind of beak just at the place where it opens into the course. In the midst of the barrier is an altar; on the top stands a brazen eagle, which is made to raise itself, and extend its wings as a signal for the races to begin. On the sides are vaulted buildings, which serve for stands to the horses and chariots, till they

proceed to take their places as the lots determine them. The course itself is divided into two parts: a terrace, and a hill that rises gently from the plain. There are two goals: at the one is a statue of HIPPODAMIA holding a chaplet to crown PELOPS; at the other, an altar to the genius TARAXIPPUS. It is observed, that at this altar the horses take such a sudden fright, as frequently to overthrow their riders. The superstitious Greeks attribute it to a divine impulse, and therefore make vows to obtain the favor of TARAXIPPUS.

In the horse-races I particularly admired some expert riders, who, being upon the back of one horse, and leading a second, would leap from one to the other with surprising agility. Nor is the address of a mare belonging to PHIDOLAS of Corinth to be left unmentioned. Though her master fell off in the beginning of the race, she continued her course in the same manner as if he had kept his seat, turned round the goal, redoubled her vigor at the sound of the trumpet, and came in the first. The Hellanodicæ ordered PHIDOLAS to be crowned, who has obtained permission from the Eleans to erect a statue to the memory of his mare Aura.

The fifth and last day was taken up in the chariot-courses, which I thought were much the finest part of the sight. The splendor of the equipages, as they were drawn out in a long line before the lists, the neighing of the horses, the cries of the charioteers, and the applauses of the vast concourse of spectators,

formed a very cheerful and agreeable entertainment. Each chariot was drawn by four horſes all in front; the two beſt are always outermoſt. The chariot-race was as uſual full of a great many incidents. The car of ADMETUS the Corinthian broke down in turning round the goal, and two others, which followed behind, ran foul upon it, and overturned their drivers. My friend PHILOCLES's horſes, which were very mettleſome, flew out ſo furiouſly at the altar of TARAXIPPUS, that with the violence of the ſhock he had nearly loſt his ſeat. He kept it with ſome difficulty; but a chariot of ALCIBIADES had an opportunity to paſs by him, and obtain the ſecond prize. That young Athenian, who had no leſs than ſeven chariots which entered the liſts, won the firſt, ſecond, and fourth prizes. PHILOCLES came in for the third.

On the evening of the day on which this ſolemnity ended, the Hellanodicæ made a ſupper, according to cuſtom, in the Prytaneum of Olympia, for the victors at the different exerciſes.

ALCIBIADES entertained the whole aſſembly the next day, in a manner anſwerable to the magnificence wherein he had appeared at the games. EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum gave us the moſt extraordinary regale. As he is a Pythagorean, both fiſh and fleſh are abſolutely forbidden by the doctrines of his ſect; and therefore he had an ox made of paſte, compoſed of myrrh, frankincenſe, and ſpices,

which he diſtributed by pieces to all who preſented themſelves.

The different diſpoſitions of my five companions have rendered the pleaſure ariſing from the company and diverſions of Olympia peculiar to each. The pious and humane PHILEMON renews thoſe long-contracted friendſhips, which war claims a right of interrupting for a time; and is never more happy, than in trying to infuſe ſentiments of peace, and a friendly diſpoſition towards Athens, in his Spartan and Corinthian acquaintance. CLINIAS has complained to me with ſome concern, that the learned performances repeated here, do not equal thoſe he remembers formerly, when PINDAR charmed the ears of Greece by his odes, and HERODOTUS excited their attention to his hiſtory. The polite CHLORUS boaſts, that he was the firſt man who congratulated ALCIBIADES upon gaining three prizes at the chariot-courſe, and was in return, the firſt of the aſſembly invited to ſupper the next evening by that magnificent Athenian. HIPPIAS is not ſo far loſt to his buſineſs as a merchant, amidſt the pleaſures of the place, but he has found time to drive ſeveral advantageous bargains. As to PHILOCLES, he thinks himſelf arrived at the higheſt pitch of happineſs and glory to which a mortal can attain. For the Greeks, potent lord, hold their countrymen who conquer at theſe games in no ſmall degree of eſteem; they are not only maintained at the public charge for the reſt of their lives, but

exempted from the burden of taxes and civil employments.

Thou wilt, I believe, agree with me in concluding, that though ſuch exerciſes as give a graceful appearance to the body, and form it for military ſervice, ſhould be cultivated in all wiſe ſtates; yet thoſe ought to be diſcountenanced, which tend only to breed up a ſet of idle perſons, who, by making the art of maiming the limbs of their fellow-creatures their only employment, are in effect rendered fit for nothing elſe. However, one cannot help admiring that paſſionate love of glory, which urges on the Greeks to contend ſo earneſtly for the crown of olive. It brings to my mind a generous ſaying of TIGRANES the Mede: being informed that the formidable invaſion of XERXES had not interrupted the Olympic games, and told at the ſame time in what the reward conſiſted, he cried out in raptures even in the preſence of his ſovereign, "Heavens, MARDONIUS, againſt what men are "we come to fight, who do not make wealth "the object of their contention, but fame?" Adieu.

From Olympia. P.

LETTER LXXIII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Olympia.

THE Mitylenian ambaſſadors had a few days ago a public audience of the Peloponneſian allies in the temple of JUPITER OLYMPIUS. The chief of the embaſſy laid before them, in a long and artful harangue, the reaſons which had induced his ſtate to renounce their dependance upon Athens. He began with deſiring the aſſembly not to be prejudiced againſt his ſtate; becauſe, after continuing ſo many years in a firm alliance with the Athenians, during the time of their proſperity, they now deſerted them in that of their diſtreſs. But, he ſaid, as the true motive of the treaty which they had made with the Athenians, was not to aſſiſt them in ſubduing the reſt of the Greeks, but to join in the common cauſe againſt the Barbarians; ſo when once the ambitious views of Athens made her uſurp an unreaſonable ſuperiority over her neighbours, thoſe ties were naturally diſſolved. That the favors which Athens had beſtowed upon them, and the lenity with which they had been treated, though they carried a fair appearance, were intended to keep the Leſbians from ſtirring, whilſt that aſpiring republic was inſenſibly enſlaving the reſt of her allies. That therefore no charge of ingratitude to benefactors could lie

againſt his countrymen, who were only preventing, by a timely precaution, thoſe dangers which ſurrounded them. He next repreſented the advantages which the Peloponneſians would gain by receiving them into their alliance; that beſides ſtrengthening their fleet with a large ſquadron, they would have an opportunity, by the convenient ſituation of Leſbos, to intercept thoſe ſupplies, which enabled Athens to continue the war. He ſet forth in exaggerated colors the weak condition of the latter, exhauſted by the plague, the expenſes of their preparations, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained; and concluded with ſolemnly entreating them, in the name of Olympian JUPITER, in whoſe temple they were aſſembled, not to abandon a people, who were the firſt that had recourſe to their protection, but to ſhow they deſerved the glorious title which they aſſumed, of protectors of the diſtreſſed, and deliverers of Greece. The aſſembly, with whom this ſpeech had no ſmall weight, after a ſhort deliberation returned a favorable anſwer, and unanimouſly decreed, that the Leſbians ſhould be comprehended in the Peloponneſian league. Deputies from the united ſtates have held ſeveral conferences in the Prytaneum of Olympia, to debate on the preſent poſture of their affairs. PHILEMON, who watches narrowly over all their deſigns, has diſpatched a courier to Athens with what intelligence he has been able to procure. He ſuſpects that they intend to form a general rendezvous at Corinth, and to attack Athens both by ſea and land. It is certain,

that orders have been iſſued out for providing immediately a large number of machines for tranſporting ſhips over land. The allies are now in the midſt of their harveſt; and it will occaſion ſome delays to take the people from their work, which will give the Athenians time to prepare a force ſufficient to oppoſe the attempts of their enemies. This ſudden turn of affairs, and the vigorous reſolutions of the allies, determine the company I came with, to ſet out early to-morrow on their return to Athens. The news I received from HYDASPES, that the Perſian court intended to ſend a private agent to Sparta, afforded me no ſmall pleaſure. The miniſtry, from overlooking both ſides of the game in a conjuncture very intereſting to Perſia, cannot fail of directing their councils on the ſureſt grounds, particularly when ſo important a commiſſion is intruſted to one of CRATIPPUS's abilities. Noble ſatrap, I kiſs thy robe, and bid thee farewel.

The firſt of the month Metagitnion.

Extract of a Letter from Athens.

Diſpatches from CLIPPIDES were yeſterday read in the aſſembly of the people. He gives an account in them, that the whole iſland, except Methymna had declared in favor of the Mitylenians; that the reinforcements he had received from thence, and our allies, enabled him to form two camps againſt the city, one on the north, the other on the ſouth ſide,

and to block up their ports ſo entirely, that no ſuccours could arrive by ſea. The beſieged made a vigorous ſally, but were repulſed. Some ambaſſadors from Thebes and Sparta (he adds) had found means to get into the town, and encouraged the inhabitants to hold out with the hopes of a ſpeedy relief.

P.

LETTER LXXIV.

GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER.

THY letters to HYDASPES on the Olympic games, and thy remarks on the general appearance of the country, as thou haſt found it on thy way to that celebrated ſolemnity, were highly entertaining to him, MEGABYZUS, and myſelf. For thou haſt diſcovered in them a knowledge of the antiquities of Greece, ſuperior to what one might reaſonably expect from thy ſtay in it, and an elegance of taſte which nature alone could give thee. The Great King was ſo particularly entertained with the copies which he ſaw of them, that he has depoſited them for his own peruſal in the royal cabinet. He was pleaſed to tell me, "they opened a new "ſcene to him; that he had journeyed in fancy, "like a quiet and inoffenſive traveller, over a "conſiderable part of thoſe territories, where "his great father had formerly carried ruin "and deſolation." Two of the Median lords,

whom SACAS accuſed upon the rack, were conducted to Babylon by a detachment of Doryphori, under the command of ARASPES. They underwent an examination of three hours in MEGABYZUS's apartment; but it was with difficulty we were able to extort any thing from them, and the teſtimonials they gave of their behaviour have almoſt convinced ſome of the ſupreme council, that no material reproach can be fixed upon their characters. I confeſs to thee, I am rather willing to ſuſpend my ſentiments, till the common accidents of time, and ſuggeſtions of prudence, have enabled us to ſee further into this dark and intricate affair. It is hard to imagine, that a wretch, who died in torments, would lay the charge of ſuch bloody purpoſes to other than his real accomplices; and I think the honor of a ſatrap is a point ſo tender, that it ought to be free, not only from the imputation, but even the remoteſt ſuſpicion of guilt. I took the liberty to urge this once at a meeting of the miniſters, when I perceived many ſatraps were of a different opinion. For my own part, I have made the moſt accurate inquiries over the province of Media, by means of ſeveral expert emiſſaries, whom I ſent thither; nor do I find among the inhabitants the leaſt inclination to revolt. What confirms me in it is, that the king has not long ſince received a very loyal and dutiful addreſs from the people of that country, preſented to him by the hands of their principal nobles, in which they expreſs their ſenſe of his paternal care for the welfare of the Perſian

empire; and congratulate him on the diſcovery of the execrable treacheries of SACAS, beſeeching OROMASDES to ſpread his guardian wing over the mighty ARTAXERXES, the peculiar favorite of Heaven, and the favorite of every nation whom the radiant MITHRAS ſurveys in his diurnal courſe. A few days ago I had intelligence that OXYATHRES is retired into Scythia. I am afraid he is far engaged in the eunuch's conſpiracy, and is fled, from a conſciouſneſs of his criminal tranſactions. ARTÆUS inſinuated to me, when advice arrived of his departure, that it was probable, as that lord was deſcended from PHRAORTES, he might be the perſon deſigned in the paſſage tranſcribed by thee from one of SACAS's letters to PERICLES.

CRATIPPUS has orders to ſet out for Lacedæmon as ſoon as the campaign is over in Greece. I have given him particular inſtructions to examine, in the beſt manner that he can, what information the people of that city receive from their new envoy reſiding at this court, NICANDER. The conferences which paſs between him and me are whimſical enough; for while I am endeavouring to find out what length his commiſſion will ſuffer him to go with us, and what is the meaning of his embaſſy, he is ſtudious to anſwer me in ſuch a way, as that, after the converſation is over, the reſult of it ſhall amount to nothing. Thou knoweſt I am obliged by my office to recollect the ſubſtance of all interviews with foreign miniſters, in order to deliver them in a ſpeech at the council-table; and to be plain with you,

this NICANDER ſcarce gives me matter for a ſpeech. In that caſe I can only tell the ſatraps of the cabinet, how much I attempted to ſay, and how little he was pleaſed to reply; ſo that the moſt conſiderable part in the dialogue falls wholly to my ſhare.

The laſt time I talked with him, I exerted myſelf greatly before him, and drew him out, by the mere violence of words, into ſome warmth. As he is of a turn ſomewhat ſingular, I fancy thou wilt be entertained with a few traits of his manner in converſing. He acquainted me, "that he is commanded by the "Spartans to require a fleet of an hundred ſail, "with twenty thouſand land forces, from our "monarch; in return for which extraordinary "aſſiſtance, they offer their friendſhip, and a "promiſe to aid us with troops againſt any "rebellion in Ægypt, or commotion in the "provinces." I told him, "that my royal "maſter expects from the republic of Sparta, "terms of a more important nature, if he "vouchſafes to enter into a league with them: "that NICANDER could not but be ſenſible there "are two articles in the treaty called CIMON's "peace, which the Perſians are deſirous of "ſeeing annulled: and therefore we muſt inſiſt, "that the Lacedæmonians ſhall never be re-"conciled to Athens, unleſs we are allowed "free navigation on the Grecian ſeas, and "our monarch be put in full poſſeſſion of the "colonies in Aſia." He anſwered, "As the "Athenians were framers of that treaty, he "thought they were reſponſible for the articles

" in it; and hoped ſo unſeaſonable a demand " would not be a means of obſtructing the " alliance which he offered between ARTA- " XERXES and his native city:" adding, "that " the empire of Perſia was like an unwieldy " body, which, whenever it ſickened, might " poſſibly want relief from the influence of " Lacedæmon." I again repeated what I ſaid, and he determined to ſend a courier for freſh inſtructions immediately to Sparta. I then aſked him the reaſon, "Why the Peloponneſians, and particularly his own countrymen, who boaſt of their great armies and extenſive power, have as yet contented themſelves in the management of their campaigns in Greece, with only ravaging the barren ſoil of Attica? It ſeems to me (continued I) as if you made the buſineſs of war nothing more than mock-ſkirmiſh and amuſement." "With us (anſwered he) war is reſt from our labors at home." "But (ſaid I) how comes it wiſdom has ſo damped your valor, as that you will not dare to march up to the walls of Athens? Methinks, if I know the Spartans, they would willingly exerciſe their courage in reality. Can ſuch a people as this pretend to cope with the numerous nations of the Eaſt?" "Yes (replied he) Thermopylæ can prove it." "And what did Thermopylæ prove, (returned I,) but the temerity of your leader? However, to be ſerious with you, I believe you may have ſome political reaſons for not hazarding an attack upon Athens. You will forgive me

" therefore, if I have purſued my raillery too " far, and I withdraw my objection with " reſpect to the conduct of your fellow-citizens." " How? (anſwered NICANDER with ſome eager- " neſs:) but if the objection does not withdraw " itſelf, I am in no wiſe deſirous to be ſo far " obliged to you: excuſe me, if I am beholden " to no one for the withdrawing of an objec- " tion, when I am endeavouring to maintain " an argument which may be ſupported by " reaſon." I ſmiled at his impatience, and he informed me afterwards, that Athens itſelf was a ſtrong place, and in diſtreſſing her allies and tributary towns, ſhe was ſufficiently weakened by the Peloponneſian army. We then turned the converſation to ſome other topics, which indeed brought him again into good-humor, but whereon he ſpoke with a diſagreeable brevity and reſerve. Upon the whole, CLEANDER, I foreſee we ſhall make no advantage of theſe embaſſies from the ſtiff republic of Lacedæmon. Wouldſt thou know my opinion of the Spartans? It is this; they are a proud and ſevere people. Let them thank LYCURGUS, who has made them ſo! Unlike the reſt of the admired ſages, who have given ſalutary laws to the world; inſtead of enlarging the minds of an ignorant race, he has more effectually contracted them. Inſtead of teaching them a little condeſcenſion to others, they have learned only to ſet a value upon themſelves. Inſtead of poliſhing them into an eaſe and benevolence of temper, he has reformed them out of it. And for the ſake of avoiding

the refinements of luxury, he has introduced a neglect of that humanity in the leſſer offices of life, which adds ſuch a reliſh to the enjoyment of it.

C.

LETTER LXXV.

ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER. *From* Heliopolis.

IN a former letter from Thebes [95], CLEANDER, I took notice to thee of the extravagant veneration paid by the Ægyptians to ſeveral of their home-bred animals, which muſt appear at firſt ſight exceedingly abſurd and ridiculous. It was my opinion, that the application of them, in their hieroglyphic imagery, to expreſs the nature and attributes of their gods, had acquired to them this extraordinary degree of ſacredneſs; and to palliate this ſuperſtition, the prieſts inſinuate, that the worſhip aſcribed to animals is purely relative, and ultimately directed to the divinities, of whom they are the ſymbols. Now as many of their gods were probably men deified, I am led to think, that there, is a reference in theſe ſymbols, as well to the qualities, actions, and remarkable endowments of thoſe illuſtrious perſons, as to the nature and qualities of thoſe ſideral divinities, under which they were afterwards worſhipped.

[95] Letter xxxii.

worſhipped. A black ox, for example, the animal ſacred to the ſun, is the ſymbol of OSIRIS, becauſe OSIRIS, ſay the prieſts, is the ſun, and the moon ISIS: but as thoſe deities, during their reign in Ægypt, were the firſt who introduced agriculture, ſo on that account likewiſe the ox and cow might become their ſymbols. And for this cauſe, they tell you, the ſoul of OSIRIS after his death retired into that animal, and choſe to dwell there rather than any where elſe; becauſe the ox was the ſymbol of agriculture. Hence the ox Mnevis or Menes, which is conſecrated to the ſun, came to be held in ſuch veneration, and worſhipped here for a god, as the apis is at Memphis. And this reminds me of another reaſon alledged for the worſhip of the ſacred animals, though indeed a very fabulous one, taken from the mythological hiſtory of Ægypt; that the gods having been once purſued by TYPHON, concealed themſelves under the figures of different animals, which may perhaps mean no more, than that the celeſtial gods come down ſometimes to dwell in thoſe ſymbols which repreſent them. And without ſome ſuch interpretation their mythology concerning OSIRISIS ſtrangely confuſed and inexplicable, which makes him to the ſun, and ſuppoſes that while his ſoul informs the body of an ox, it ſtill reſides in that luminary. Near akin to this is their doctrine of tranſmigration, which may be another cauſe of their paying regard to animals. For the Ægyptians ſay, they were the firſt who maintained that the ſoul of man

was immortal, and that after death it paſſed ſucceſſively into the bodies of animals, terreſtrial, aquatic, and aërial; whence it returns to animate the body of a man, and finiſhes this circuit in three thouſand years. There is through the different parts of Ægypt ſo great diverſity in their modes of worſhip, that upon a ſlight examination one might be induced to think they differed entirely about their deities; and that there was no one general ſcheme of religion in which they all agreed. And indeed their mythology, whatever it be in itſelf, ſeems very perplexed and intricate to one who is left to collect it from external ceremonies, popular cuſtoms, and the dark hints which their prieſts, like oracles, at times deliver with great reſerve and myſterioufneſs. Yet I am of opinion they do not ſo much diſſent with regard to the deities themſelves, as to the ſymbols, under which they would repreſent their natures and attributes. For firſt, I am certain that Isis and Osiris are every where adored, though they are differently repreſented and the modes of their worſhip vary in different places. Neither do I think it improbable, but that the goat at Mendes receives divine honors on the ſame account that the ox does here and at Memphis. When the Mendeſian goat is dead, there is the ſame mourning throughout the whole nome, as they obſerve upon the drowning of their ſacred ox at Memphis. The Mnevis, Apis, and Mendeſian goat are held more ſacred than all the other animals of Ægypt, as if they had the influence of the god more immediately

reſiding in them. The former two the prieſts expreſsly declare to have in them the ſoul of OSIRIS, as they pretend the latter to be the god PAN. But as there are two oxen equally ſacred in their reſpective places, it ſeems difficult to underſtand how the ſoul of OSIRIS ſhould have paſſed into both at once. But this I take to have been the caſe; when they deified their hero MENES, who is called OSIRIS, they conſecrated him into a ſidereal divinity, implying either, that his ſpirit paſſed into the ſun, or that the ſoul of that luminary had reſided in OSIRIS. The great lights of heaven were doubtleſs the moſt obvious of all viſible objects to fill the minds of men with a religious reverence. And by thus grafting the worſhip of their deified heroes upon the mythology of the celeſtial bodies, they found the likelieſt method to divert the attention of ſuch as were their neareſt contemporaries from all thoſe circumſtances in their lives, by which they might remember thoſe gods to have been men like themſelves. But in order to ſecure a more particular reſpect in ſucceeding ages to the perſon himſelf, who was conſecrated as a god, and leſt the honor intended him might be ſwallowed up in the worſhip of an original deity, I ſuppoſe thoſe rites and myſteries were invented, which bear a particular alluſion to the great events of his life, or that remarkable cataſtrophe which put an end to it. And being received into the number of the gods, it was neceſſary he ſhould be remembered by the particular relation he bore to Ægypt. Thus I

ſuppoſe the hierophants introduced the worſhip of the ſacred ox as the god OSIRIS, led to it by the hieroglyphic imagery and their doctrine of tranſmigration; and tempered their impoſture to the genius of the vulgar, who are moſt taken with the groſſeſt repreſentations. OSIRIS having reigned over all Ægypt, and after his death being remembered as a tutelar deity, in which the whole country had an equal intereſt, it is not to be wondered, if upon the diviſion of the kingdoms the chief city, both of the Upper and Lower Ægypt, ſhould claim his preſence among them. And it being en eſtabliſhed opinion, that without the living image of their god, the worſhip of it could not be rightly ſolemnized, they both, while divided in their intereſts, forming alſo a ſchiſm in their religion, ſought out for themſelves their own ſacred ox; and ſo the ſoul of OSIRIS has ever ſince continued to inform two different animals, though the prieſts of the two cities are ſince become more united in their intereſts. But the vulgar, blinded with ſuperſtition, examine not into theſe things; and the prieſts treat this matter with their uſual ſophiſtry and colluſion; though when hardly preſſed by men of reaſon and inquiry, they ſeem rather to maintain, that the god OSIRIS manifeſts himſelf in the ſacred ox, than that the ſacred ox is itſelf the god OSIRIS.

This worſhip of OSIRIS I may call the popular religion of Ægypt. What more recondite doctrines are concealed under the myſteries of ISIS, I am not concerned in the preſent ſubject

to inquire. Neither will I enter into a perplexed detail of their original deities, who are ſaid to have reigned in Ægypt. For the reign of thoſe deities I take to mean the mundane revolution, which I ſpoke of in a former letter [96]; and it is remarkable that the time which they aſcribe to the reign of all their gods, amounts exactly to the ſame period of thirty-ſix thouſand five hundred and twenty-five years. The reign therefore of the gods I conceive to imply, that the ſun, moon, and ſtars run their courſes thouſands of years before man was upon the earth. The names of thoſe deities they confound with their demi-gods and heroes. I have been ſometimes of opinion, that by VULCAN they mean an eternal deity, for they commonly ſpeak of his reign as unlimited; but his worſhip is not univerſal throughout Ægypt. Their theology, in ſhort, (as I have hinted elſewhere,) may be reſolved into a ſyſtem of the world, and their ISIS and OSIRIS, though generally taken for the ſun and moon, which are ſuppoſed to contribute to the generation of all things, have moreover been acknowledged as deities through every part of nature, and conſecrated over and over into different ſtars and elements, as new diſcoveries came to be made in the heavens, or any where elſe through the ſyſtem of nature. About the ſame time that the five intercalary days were added to their year, it is likely that the Ægyptian aſtronomers had obſerved the appearance of

[96] Letter xxv.

five new ſtars on their horizon, of which their predeceſſors had taken no notice. And upon this occaſion they conſecrated their Isis anew, with others of their deities, and ſuppoſed her to riſe in the dog-ſtar. Orus, the ſon of Isis and Osiris, is generally made the laſt of the gods who reigned in Ægypt. Now Osiris is undeniably the firſt of their kings, to whom any of their hiſtories reach up. And their other gods, if they are to be referred to real beings, beſides the ſeveral operations and powers of nature, there is good reaſon to think, were Osiris's immediate progenitors or contemporaries. Such in general, Cleander, are the conjectures I have been able to form upon the Ægyptian mythology. Thou wilt conſider it as a ſubject which a very ſubtile body of men have made it their ſtudy to perplex and render intricate. By the figure of a Sphinx in the avenues of their temples, they ſeem deſignedly to imply, that the doctrine of their gods is obſcure and enigmatical. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LXXVI.

CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

THOU mayeſt think it extraordinary, after all I have heard of the wiſdom of the Areopagus, that I never attended in any cauſe before that council till yeſterday. And the cauſe was indeed ſuch a one, that I ſhould have been curious to have heard the debate of it in a court, however low in reputation; much more before perſons of the higheſt, for the good ſenſe and integrity of their judgments.

In the laſt great feaſt of BACCHUS, the ſolemnity of which draws a prodigious reſort of ſtrangers from all parts of Greece, ARISTOPHANES preſented a play, entitled THE BABYLONIANS, wherein CLEON was reflected upon in a manner that greatly incenſed him. He was the more offended at it, as it is the firſt performance in which he has been publicly ridiculed; and having been courted and admired, when he appeared at the head of an oppoſition to PERICLES, he is exceedingly impatient of any ſatire, which tends to hurt his popularity. As the comedy had been received with much applauſe, he determined it ſhould be condemned upon legal reaſons, though it ſtood the teſt of a critical examination. Accordingly he delivered in an account of the offence to the Areopagus, and accuſed

the poet, as "guilty of defamation [97], and "one who expoſed the citizens and the ſtate "to the deriſion of foreigners." Towards the duſk of the evening, the judges were ſeated in the open air upon MARS's hill. The plaintiff and defendant were placed on the ſtools of Injury and Innocence. CLEON opened with great ſpirit and impetuoſity; and, notwithſtanding the diſguſt which the people in general expreſſed at this attempt to deter the comic writers from that licentious buffoonery which entertains and flatters them, he ſhowed himſelf ſuperior to ſuch murmurs, however affected by the ſtings of wit. He ſaid, "that he pre-"tended to no rhetoric; nor would it be proper, "or even lawful, to exert it before this judi-"cature, if he excelled at all in it: but that "there was a natural eloquence accompanying "the complaints of the injured, which, if it "betrayed him into warm expreſſions, might "more eaſily be excuſed than controuled. He "underſtood, from the laws of SOLON, that "the republic had a tenderneſs for the reputa-"tion of private men, and allowed an action "of ſlander; a ſtill greater for that of ma-"giſtrates, in whoſe character its own dignity "and welfare are concerned; that it was ne-"ceſſary their character ſhould be guarded by "the ſevereſt laws in a democracy, becauſe "they are ſo very limited in the exerciſe of

[97] Quo nomine dicam illi ſcripſit [ſc. CLEON ARISTOPHANI] ea autem erat ἀδικιὰς εἰς τὰς Πολίτας. PETIT. in leg. Att. p. 79.

" power. To ſupply the defects of power, their " authority (which ariſes from reputation) " muſt of courſe be ſteadily ſupported. That " it mattered not how far the facts alluded to " in THE BABYLONIANS were true; it was to " be conſidered, whether the alluſions carried " an illegal reproach. That it became them " to underſtand the paſſages which gave them " offence, in the ſame manner they were un- " derſtood in full theatre; that the taſk of " ſcandal would be very eaſy, if theſe pitiful " tools of it were given to know, that their " pieces are to be taken in one ſenſe by the " audience, and in another by a court of juſ- " tice. This would be giving a ſanction to " evaſions, by which the effect of the laws " may be either deſtroyed or diminiſhed. That " he was extremely unwilling to find fault " with any diverſions which engaged the atten- " tion of Greece, and raiſed the glory of " Athens; but he conſidered the contempt " thrown on himſelf, the magiſtrates, and the " public meaſures, to be much worſe in the " feſtivals, when there was ſo general a con- " courſe, than in ſuch as were attended mere- " ly by their own citizens. That it became " every man who loved his country, to draw " a veil over its weakneſs, its puſillanimity, " or raſhneſs, and not to expoſe before all " Greece, in a fit of laughter, what they ſhould " wiſh to hide even from themſelves. He " concluded with hoping, that thoſe ma- " giſtrates would protect the commonwealth " from the impudent licence of comedy, who

" are expreſsly forbidden by the laws to write " a performance of that nature."

When CLEON had done, ARISTOPHANES was called upon to offer ſomething in his own defence. I thought the aſſurance of the man would not have deſerted him in any circumſtances; but the occaſion was too trying, and the place too ſolemn. He ſeemed much confounded, and his adverſary called out to him, " that he muſt not think of impoſing upon this " tribunal by his theatrical pleaſantries;" which diſturbed him more. However, he recovered himſelf ſo far as to ſpeak to the following effect: "That as the proſecution, carried on " by CLEON in this court, was ſingular and " new, though grounded on a law which had " been long in force, he hoped the judges " would conſider well the conſequence of it, " before they gave a determination. That no " man knows what he does, when he makes a " precedent; and if, by cenſuring him upon " the complaint before them, they ſhould go " contrary to the opinion of the excellent judges, " who had reviewed and allowed his comedy, " contrary to the avowed practice of the ſtate, " the poets would be uncertain, how far they " were ſecure upon the ſtrength of the de- " ciſions made by thoſe judges, the public " feſtivals would be deprived of a very con- " ſiderable ornament, and the vicious be equally " ſafe with the virtuous from that ridicule, " which had been found inſtrumental to good " manners. That it was particularly the buſineſs " of this court to watch the morals of the

" people; but as they acted by certain rules, " and could only lay open offences actually " committed within the letter or intention of " the law, there were ſeveral very blamable " parts of conduct, both above and below their " cognizance: that theſe equally belonged to " the province of comedy; and where the " ſword of the magiſtrate could either not " reach, or not be ſuitably applied, he ap- " prehended the poet to be uſeful. That he " hoped the wiſdom of that council would " protect ſuch, as were carrying on by effi- " cacious, and, he conceived, legal means, " the ends of their inſtitution. That this way " of reforming was wonderfully agreeable to " the people, and the nature of the govern- " ment: that he feared more danger from the " increaſe of thoſe diſorders, which the free- " dom of his pen had cenſured, than from " the opinion the Greeks might entertain of " the ſtate, by attending to the force of thoſe " cenſures: that to be the firſt in diſcovering " and acknowledging one's faults, is an argu- " ment of underſtanding, as to be the laſt in " theſe important points, is an argument of " exceeding folly: but it was not ſtrange that " thoſe ſhould counſel others to hide their " errors from themſelves, who were ſo uneaſy " when their own are reproved. That he was " extremely ſorry to have a conteſt with one, " who, in the time of PERICLES, was, of all " the Athenians that honored his pieces with " their preſence, the moſt applauding ſpectator."

I found the inclinations of the people, who attended these pleadings, not at all disposed to favor CLEON; and the stroke with which ARISTOPHANES concluded, gave so much pleasure, that it would have raised a general laugh against him, were not that directly forbidden by the rules of the court. The complaint was ordered to be reserved for another hearing, and no judgment pronounced. It is thought, the affair will be dropped, and CLEON satisfied with terrifying ARISTOPHANES, and revenging himself by the severity of his oration. The comic poet swears by THALIA, the muse of his art, that he will not spare the currier in the next representation at the lesser feast of BACCHUS.

HYDASPES, thou hast no notion of the satirical species of wit so much admired in this country; and it is a greater commendation to say, thou wantest it, than that thou hast the rest at thy command. It is admired, because it flatters the vanity of every private man to be entertained at the expense of his neighbours; and especially, because it flatters the licence of a popular government to be entertained at the expense of its leaders. Little minds are fond of placing themselves on a level with the great; for it they fall very much below those qualities which adorn them, they are perhaps superior to the foibles which debase them. If this reflection on the weakness of great men, by proving that they are but men, could engage us to aspire to an imitation of their excellencies, it were indeed a very useful consequence; but I am afraid it makes us true to our own failings,

and inclines us to purſue comparative, not real goodneſs. Let me add, that as in conſidering the portion of happineſs aſſigned us, we are apt to look upwards, and repine, if others have apparently more; ſo in conſidering our moral perfection, we are apt to look downwards, and are ſatisfied, if others have apparently leſs; whereas, in both caſes, the reverſe is the right conduct. And were it followed, we ſhould endeavour to copy the beſt models, inſtead of being contented to avoid the worſt. For this reaſon it would be far better, if, as in the earlieſt times, wit were exerciſed in the panegyrics of Gods and heroes, to invite us to moral actions, by repreſenting the moſt perfect pattern, and not in ſatire, which delights only in pictures of deformity. There would be leſs too of the diſguſt and melancholy, which ſpeculations on the dark ſide of human nature occaſion in the generality; above all, in the moroſely virtuous, who form ideas of its corruptions worſe than its moſt depraved condition will juſtify, or the very being of ſociety admit. In a word, the virtue of every man would then be adjuſted according to the exemplar given us in the characters of heroes, and the natural conſtitution of things, not meaſured by the failings of thoſe about him; and the world might be reſtored to its own good opinion, as well as to the favor of OROMASDES.

C.

LETTER LXXVII.

CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS. *From* Athens.

THOU wilt not be ſurpriſed, that my correſpondence with Perſia hath been interrupted ſince my departure from Olympia, when I tell thee the occaſion of it. The morning after my arrival at Athens, a decree paſſed the aſſembly of the people, that, in the preſent exigence of affairs, all the citizens, except the ſecond order called Hippeis, (who only ſerve on horſeback,) as well as the ſtrangers reſiding at Athens, ſhould repair, without delay, on board the fleet. Though I had ſcarcely recovered the fatigue of the journey, and was ſenſible that the accidents of the ſea, and the uncertainty of finding a conveyance for my letters, would be a hinderance to the duties of my employment for ſome months, yet I conſidered at the ſame time, that an unwillingneſs to go would either raiſe a ſuſpicion of my real character, or betray a coolneſs in my affection to the ſtate. Within a few days I prepared my military equipage, and complied with a very obliging offer of PHILOCLES, to ſerve as a volunteer on board the quadrireme, which he commanded. When the fleet, conſiſting of a hundred gallies, of which PHORMIO was admiral, had received ſailing orders, and the wind ſat fair to carry them out of the Piræus, almoſt the whole city aſſembled on

the ſhore to ſee the ceremonies practiſed on ſuch occaſions, and take the laſt leave of their friends and relations, who were repairing to their reſpective ſhips. Firſt, ſilence was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet; the public herald repeated a ſolemn form of words, which contained vows to the gods for the ſucceſs of the Athenian arms. When that was ended, the admiral and trierarchs of the fleet appeared on deck; and after they had poured a libation to NEPTUNE, drank in golden cups to the fortune of the voyage. Whilſt a Pæan was ſinging, the whole fleet ranged themſelves in line of battle, ſtruck their oars, and made the beſt of their way out of the harbour, amidſt the acclamations of that vaſt concourſe of ſpectators. We proceeded for the coaſt of Peloponneſus; and after waiting in vain for the enemy's fleet to come out, made deſcents in ſeveral parts, and ravaged the country. We were informed by ſome priſoners, that the allies had drawn together a ſmall body of troops at Corinth, being much diſappointed by the uneaſineſs which ſeveral of their cities expreſſed at the continuance of the war, and diſpirited by the extraordinary armament which the Athenians had fitted out in ſo ſhort a time. As an attempt to demoliſh the Corinthian fleet in port was looked upon as too hazardous, we contented ourſelves in ſhowing the ſuperiority of our ſtrength in the eyes of all Greece; and on hearing the allies were retired into winter-quarters, received orders to return. The expenſes of this year's campaign, though it has

been unactive, have proved very burdenſome to the Athenians. Beſides the fleet which cruiſed about Peloponneſus, they had another of the ſame force to guard their own coaſts; and have lately ſent a reinforcement of 50 ſhips to CLIPPIDES, under the command of PACHES, with a ſupply of 200 talents. They are in great hopes, that Mitylene will be obliged to ſurrender before the beginning of next ſummer, as it is now blocked up both by land and ſea.

The reſolute and brave action of two hundred and twenty Plateans, is at preſent the general ſubject of converſation here. The ſcarcity of proviſion within the town, and the difficulty of throwing in relief from without, inſpired a party of the garriſon with the bold deſign of eſcaping through the lines. They began with computing the height of the wall of circumvallation, by exactly reckoning the number of the rows of bricks that compoſed it. They next took advantage of a dark tempeſtuous night, and ſallied out of the town under the guidance of THÆNETUS an augur, and EUPOLPIDAS an officer, marching at ſome diſtance from each other, to prevent the claſhing of their armour. They applied the ladders to the intervals between the towers, two of which were immediately ſeized, and the centinels killed. A looſe tile that fell from the wall, gave an alarm to the Peloponneſian camp; but as the beſieged made a feint ſally on the other ſide, and the darkneſs of night and the ſtorm, which beat full in their faces, helped to increaſe the confuſion, they durſt not leave their

their poſts. In the mean time the ſelect number, that had made themſelves maſters of the towers, ſecured the paſſage for the reſt of their company, who, when they had mounted the firſt wall, changed the ladders, and came down on the other ſide, where they drew themſelves up to defend the detachment that were preparing to quit the towers. Whilſt theſe laſt were deſcending, a body of reſerve belonging to the beſiegers came up with lights, and the whole Platean party had juſt time to make their eſcape. They retired by the way that lies towards Thebes, in order to deceive the Peloponneſians, who ſent out detachments in purſuit of them on the road leading to Athens. When they were returned to the camp, the Plateans changed their courſe, and arrived ſafely here. I have procured from one of them a plan of the fortifications of the city, and the works of the beſiegers, which I ſend encloſed in this packet, together with a journal of the expedition to the coaſts of Peloponneſus drawn up by PHILOCLES.

The advantages which the Athenians have received from a war now advanced to the concluſion of its fourth year, are ſo trifling, in compariſon of the ambitious projects which they formed to themſelves at the beginning of it, and the inſupportable burden of their annual expenſes, that ſeveral of the moſt intelligent and diſintereſted citizens begin to think ſeriouſly of propoſing terms for an honorable accommodation. But the party that deſire the continuance of the quarrel, have

a great influence over the minds of the ignorant multitude, and flatter them with hopes of aſſiſtance from ſeveral foreign princes, as PERDICCAS king of Macedon, SITALCES, and our potent monarch. The head of this faction, CLEON, has lately received a diſgrace, under which nothing but his matchleſs aſſurance could ſupport him. He had taken a bribe of five talents from ſome tributary iſlands, to obtain for them a diminution of the taxes which they pay to this ſtate. The bargain by ſome means or another got air, and the Hippeis (or knights) brought a charge of corruption againſt him, in the name of their order, before the Areopagus. The accuſation was clearly made out, and he was obliged to refund the talents. LAMACHUS, a young man, is lately elected one of the ten generals by CLEON's intereſt, who carried his point in ſo high a manner, that it gave ſingular offence. The oppoſite party have engaged ARISTOPHANES, the comic poet, to write a play, which is intended to prepare the minds of the people for overtures of peace, by ſetting forth the detriment that the war occaſions to the common intereſt of Greece, the miſeries it has brought upon Athens, and the views of their orators and generals, who deſire to prolong it. Neither the memory of PERICLES, nor the characters of the preſent adminiſtration, will be ſpared in the piece, which is to be performed at the next feaſts of BACCHUS.

I cannot pretend to determine, whether the repreſentation of this comedy will have

that effect upon the minds of the people, which ſome expect from it. It has been long obſerved of the Athenians, that though they ſee even with pleaſure their greateſt miniſters accuſed upon the ſtage of the groſſeſt enormities, and vilified with the ſevereſt ſatire, and permit the fables of their deities to be expoſed with all the licentiouſneſs of a ſcurrilous buffoon wit; yet neither is the management of their affairs taken from the former, nor a grain of incenſe leſs offered upon the altars of the latter. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXXVIII.

CRATIPPUS *to* CLEANDER.

THERE is no part of my inſtructions, that I obey with ſo much private ſatisfaction, as that relating to my correſpondence with thee. From hence I not only foreſee the greateſt advantage to our maſter's ſervice, but I promiſe, myſelf the moſt valuable improvements from the communication of thy ſagacity and experience, and perhaps, ſhould I be found not unworthy, a friendſhip, which will be the honor of my future life.

When the council of the Great King, obſerving the new light that was thrown upon the affairs of Greece by every diſpatch of thine from Athens, had determined to place an agent

alſo at Sparta, my patron GOBRYAS caſt his eyes upon me for that employment. He conſidered, that the misfortunes of my family would be a proper recommendation of me here. We fell with the ariſtocracy, and were obliged to leave Rhodes, when the popular faction prevailed, and made an alliance with Athens. My two brothers have ever ſince taken up their reſidence on the oppoſite coaſt of Caria, waiting for ſome turn of affairs in our favor. And thou knoweſt, thoſe of our principles throughout all Greece, place their only hope in the ſucceſs of the Peloponneſian arms.

As ſoon as I arrived, I waited upon BRASIDAS, a young officer of reputation, and preſented to him the token from my brother THERON his hoſt. He received it very cordially, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction at this opportunity of returning the good offices done him, while the galley he commanded lay in the port of Caunus. I told him, that, driven from my own country, I had made the tour of Greece and Aſia, and had even ſeen the court of the Great King; but that, tired with wandering, I was determined to fix at laſt in this ſeat of ſecurity and virtue, where valor and diſcipline repel all dangers from without, and an uniform obedience to the beſt laws prevents the more fatal evils from within. He replied with a ſmile, that a taſte of Suſa was by no means a preparation for a Spartan diet; but that he would obtain a licence from the Proxeni for my ſtay in the city, and would propoſe me for a member to the little ſociety,

where he daily eat his frugal meal. I thanked him, and added, that I might perhaps not be altogether unworthy ſome ſavor from the ſtate, as I was thoroughly informed of the condition of the Rhodian marine, a point my countrymen were ſo jealous of, and which might be a diſcovery of conſequence in the preſent war.

The whole city is at preſent taken up with the funeral of ARCHIDAMUS. It is indeed a moſt ſolemn ceremony; as if this people intended, by ſo much reſpect paid to their dead princes, to make amends for the ſmall ſhare of regal pomp and authority they allow them when living. To his character thou art no ſtranger. He was the hoſt of thy friend PERICLES. Theſe two great men were ſuſpected and traduced for meaſures, which the event proved to be wiſe and honeſt; and they moſt effectually diſtreſſed each other by thoſe very counſels which were branded with the name of colluſion and treachery. Yet ſtill the memory of ARCHIDAMUS is purſued with reproaches; and a prudent and glorious adminiſtration of more than forty years, cannot make amends for his unwillingneſs to enter ſuddenly into a deſperate war, and his forbearing a while to puſh the enemy in ſuch a manner, as would render all terms of accommodation impoſſible. This furious ſpirit is kept up in the republic by the Ephore STHENELAIDAS; he, whoſe violent oration prevailed over all the king's reaſons, and hurried the aſſembly into a vote, that

the treaties were broken on the part of Athens.

From the imperfect ſurvey of things I have yet been able to take, I muſt not pretend to determine the queſtion about this war, how far Sparta was intereſted in the quarrel of her Corinthian allies; or what credit ſhe might give to the Athenians' offer of ſatisfaction. But of this I am convinced, it will ever be my duty to add fuel to this flame, and to attach myſelf to the party which declares againſt all overtures of peace. While their diſputes continue, (which we ſhould wiſh for in the firſt place,) the general force of Greece is daily growing weaker. And ſhould even one of the powers prevail, and put an end to the war by the ruin of its rival, that very ſucceſs would turn the thoughts of the conqueror upon tyrannizing over Europe; nor would he quit that near and tempting proſpect, for the diſtant view of empty glory in the fields of Aſia. Adieu.

From Sparta. W.

LETTER LXXIX.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES.

SINCE I read over the writings of the Grecian poets, noble friend, I have often thought it might be a very improving, as well as pleasing speculation, to inquire into the cause and origin of fables in the world; how the powers of nature and the human passions were first allegorized; and in what manner the plain facts of ancient history came to be mixed with the ornaments of a poetic imagination. After having made some search into the subject, at least so far as might enable me to converse upon it, I went one day into the Lyceum, and fell accidentally into discourse with CTESIPHON, a learned sophist. He told me, he should be very proud to instruct an inquisitive stranger in a point, which he himself had so thoroughly considered: but I must entreat you, said he, not to discover to any one those sentiments which I shall lay before you, lest some malicious person should accuse me of speaking against the gods of my country, and cite me to appear before the court of Areopagus. I assured him of my inviolable secrecy, and then he entered on the matter without further apology. You know, said he, that the Eastern parts of the world are thought to have been much sooner peopled than the climates of the West. The Greeks therefore lived for many

years in a ſtate of ignorance and rudeneſs, while other regions enjoyed the ornaments as well as the conveniencies of life. Their diet was of the wild herbs of the field; their clothing of leaves; and the caverns, which were formed by the hand of nature in uncultivated mountains, were their places of habitation. The coloniſts, who mixed with them from Ægypt and Phœnicia, endeavoured to temper the ſavageneſs of the nation: and by communicating their cuſtoms to them, inſenſibly formed them to the politer arts of humanity. They taught them to ſtrip the wool from the ſkins of animals, and to cure it for uſe. The knowledge of buildings and agriculture, when firſt revealed to them, was eſteemed of ſo excellent and neceſſary a nature, that the gratitude which they owed to their benefactors, very naturally broke out into expreſſions of adoration. They regarded them as ſent from heaven for the benefit of mortals, and adopted them after death among their deities. Hence aroſe the gods of the Greeks; and their ORPHEUS, APOLLO, and HERMES, (who is the ſame with the THOTH or MERCURY of Egypt,) take their riſe from the laws and manners which they gave to a barbarous and rough race. And to ſay the truth, CLEANDER, ſuch improvements as theſe might well demand the admiration of mankind in the dawnings of ſcience, which are the principal ſupports of health and ſocial felicity in more illuminated ages. Your account is certainly a very fair one, anſwered I, and what I ſhall readily acquieſce in. But methinks the

craft of theſe wiſe men concurred with the ignorance of theſe ſavages in the advancement of fable. For the firſt lawgivers and reformers of mankind, the better to claim reſpect from their countrymen and kindred, were ambitious to be thought deſcended from the gods, and to have had frequent interviews with them of ſingular importance. Yes, replied he, a divine miſſion ſtrikes immediately with awe, and inclines us to implicit reverence and belief. The prieſts too were careful to contend with one another in raiſing altars to the memory of a new hero, and vamping up religious ceremonies to be performed in his honor. They buſied themſelves in writing whole volumes of fables; and he, who had the beſt invention, generally bore away the approbation of the multitude to his ſhrine, as well as the gainful applauſe of the more wealthy. Beſides, before the uſe of letters and writing came amongſt us, the remembrance of great and illuſtrious actions depended only on a ſort of family or national tradition. Sometimes indeed they raiſed a monument with an uncouth repreſentation engraven on it, of the thing which gave occaſion to the erecting it; and perhaps now and then an irregular ſong was tuned to the praiſes of a celebrated conqueror. Undoubtedly, returned I, tradition is a fatal enemy to truth. One may ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that in order to imprint a ſtory more effectually on the minds of children and ſtrangers, a man zealous for the reputation of his anceſtors might frequently intermix the marvellous with the probable;

and when he was warmed by discourse, might indulge himself in some flights of fancy, which he little thought contagious enough to infect the histories of after-times. Yet so it has proved, said the sophist; consider only the lying relations of travellers, and you will soon be brought to assert what you suppose. The fictions of these have passed, like the family traditions you speak of, for truth, and are adopted into our accounts of the early ages. At present, indeed, we are aware of such counterfeits, and though we hear out their tales with patience, we disdain to receive them with credulity. No man of sense converses now-a-days with one who has been a tedious voyage, without making some grains of allowance for the embellishments which such persons are too apt to give to their narration. To be serious, it is very difficult for one, who is sure of not being contradicted, to resist a strong inclination to tell wonders. Did not a traveller come back full fraught with extraordinary curiosities, his friends would laugh at him for pretending to have made the tour of foreign countries; and he would appear at once uninformed and ridiculous. Sensible, therefore, that he is permitted to enlarge and improve as he pleases, he thinks it becomes him to relate one story after another in such a manner, as each shall amaze you, without giving you a moment's pause to question him upon any. Should we commend the imagination of a poet or a painter, if they made no use of that general licence which is granted them, of inventing what they please, and

adorning thoſe inventions with all the lively images of fancy? It is their office, you know, rather to amuſe than inſtruct; and not content with forgiveneſs for endeavouring to deceive us, they demand applauſe for deceiving ingeniouſly. In this reſpect, CTESIPHON, (interrupted I,) you are in the right to be candid to the poets; but methinks no excuſe is ſufficient for the travellers. They have received indeed, as you intimate, a kind of licence for lying; but it is a privilege more allowed them from courteſy and preſcription, than from the motives of reaſon and good ſenſe. In my opinion, no quarter ſhould be given to thoſe, who, by forging ſtrange things of the nations they have paſſed through, miſrepreſent one half of mankind to the other; and inſtead of eradicating the popular ſelfiſhneſs and little prejudices of their countrymen, ſerve only to confirm and increaſe them. Such as theſe may be ſaid to ſow the ſeeds of diviſion among the inhabitants of the earth, and to baniſh the great principle of univerſal benevolence from the world. Let us return to the poets. To relate a fact with ſimplicity, is not ſo peculiarly their province, as to relate it with ornament. The poetic diction muſt neceſſarily be raiſed to diſtinguiſh it from the calmneſs of proſe writings. A certain ſpirit of enthuſiaſm ought to diffuſe a complexion of ſupernatural inſpiration over their compoſitions, which would appear frantic in a plain commentary or annal. With them every ſhepherdeſs is a nymph or NAIAD; every

huntreſs a DIANA; every beauty a VENUS. True, (anſwered he,) and the language of poetry would be nothing without it. How could we reliſh the Iliad or Odyſſey of our admired HOMER, without the divine machinery introduced there, and the mixture of thoſe intereſting fables which he has wove into his poems? Do you not think the invaſion of Greece by XERXES, when he ſwept acroſs the globe with millions in his train, a more wonderful ſtory in every part of it, than the war of Troy would appear to us, when ſtript of its poetical apparel? In a word, the impatient ſon of PELEUS is obliged to HOMER for his immortality; and the fame of that ancient ſiege is more owing to the warm imagination of the poet, than to any hiſtorical accounts that have been tranſmitted to us of it: None of theſe repreſent it in half ſo conſiderable a light. An hiſtorian would tell us ſimply, that HECTOR was a brave man: the poet informs us, he has MARS for his companion. Is ULYSSES ſhipwrecked? It is ſaid, that NEPTUNE is angry with him; and the wiſdom of the ſame hero is attributed to the inſpiration of MINERVA. Thus the Greeks, in imitation of the Phœnicians and Ægyptians, have filled their hiſtory with mythology. The ground of the fable is real, while the ornaments are feigned; and the truth of antiquity is deformed by the ignorance of the people, the artifice of the prieſts, and the genius of the poets. Painters and ſculptors have contributed not a little to ſupport the credit of

fabulous ſtories; and a Satyr, or a Fawn, a Syren, or a Centaur, is often indebted for its ſpurious exiſtence to an elegant ſtatue or a fine painting. And here, added I, let us not forget the theatres of Athens. They are founded upon fiction, and ſubſiſt by the reception which it meets with. The poet feigns converſations and actions in the dramatic way. His plot is taken from ſome fable. It is ſet, as it were, in motion before our eyes; and if the repreſentation is performed with plauſibility, we almoſt begin to think the tale not impoſſible in reality. Beyond diſpute (continued he) the ſtage may be called the kingdom of mythology. It reigns there protected by the ſuperſtition of the people, and is encouraged by all the arts of national profuſion. But there has not been a more plentiful ſource of fable than the ignorance of the firſt ages in philoſophy. From thence ariſe many of their aſtronomical fables and fanciful repreſentations of the powers of nature; for curioſity leads men to inquire into the cauſes of extraordinary effects; and if the true explications are wanting, imaginary ones take their place. Each river and fountain is ſuppoſed to have a guardian deity; ÆOLUS is made ruler of the winds; IRIS, or the rainbow, is appointed meſſenger to the gods; the ſun and moon are worſhipped under the names of APOLLO and CYNTHIA, and eclipſes are ſaid to be owing to the loves of ENDYMION and DIANA. Thus, ſaid he, there is nothing ſo abſurd but the creating

power of a poet can command it. But furely one may account for their allegorizing all phyſical events, from the natural temper of mankind. Theſe events of themſelves being extraordinary, are a good foundation for a poetical fancy to work upon; and we are more pleaſed with a fable that conveys a ſignificant meaning, than with one which engages our admiration without ſatisfying the underſtanding. In this manner the poets chuſe to blend utility with entertainment, to amuſe us with ſuch ſtories as are raiſed upon inſtructive truths. And I believe we may conſider it as a general clue to all the intricacies of mythology, that moſt of its fables are built, either on the actions of hiſtory, or the operations of nature; on the principles of civil policy, or the maxims of morality.

Our ſophiſt was now interrupted by ſome other pupil; but as I went away from him, he told me he would be glad of my company once more in the Lyceum, for that the ſubject of fables was by no means exhauſted.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LXXX.

CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES.

A FEW days after my former viſit to the Lyceum I returned thither, and at a diſtance ſaw CTESIPHON engaged in earneſt converſation with one of his followers. As ſoon as he perceived me, he left his diſciple, and ran up to meet me. I have juſt been inſtructing a young man, ſaid he, in the beneficent nature of the gods and the firſt principles of juſtice. I found his mind corrupted with every popular prejudice, and unhappily immerſed in all the wild extravagancies of fable. He was pleaſed, that his follies were patronized in the character of ſome ancient hero, and vindicated his own vices from the example of JUPITER. It is really incredible to obſerve, what early havoc ſuperſtition makes in the government and œconomy of human nature; and perhaps it might admit of ſome diſpute, whether the diſbelief of a Providence, or the abſurd romances of ſuperſtition, have been moſt fatal to mankind. If the one diſowns the exiſtence of ſuperior beings, the other confeſſes ſo many fooliſh and arbitrary tyrants: if the former gives a looſe to the paſſions, the latter debaſes and enſlaves the reaſon. Every day's experience convinces me of this truth; and I can no longer wonder at the ignorance and groſs credulity of the firſt ages, when I meet with ſuch

unaccountable inſtances of both in the days of knowledge and improvement. But let us apply more cloſely to our ſubject.

The laſt thing we took notice of the other day was, that the poets for the moſt part founded their fables, not only on ſome fact in hiſtory, or phenomenon in nature, but on the ſentiments of civil policy and the maxims of morality. For my own part, I am ſo thoroughly perſuaded of this, continued CTESIPHON, that the notion can never be wreſted from my mind by any plauſibility of wit, or force of reaſoning. When we are told, that, after the expulſion of the giants from heaven, Fame ſprang from the earth as their youngeſt ſiſter, can we apply it to any thing but to the ſeditious murmurs which uſually ſucceed an inſurrection? Or from the ſtory of CASSANDRA do we not immediately collect the fruitleſſneſs of untimely counſels? As ſhe diſdained to ſubmit herſelf to the deſires of APOLLO, the god of harmony, in like manner ſuch adviſers, too proud of their own wiſdom and dexterity, diſregard the occaſions to ſpeak and to be ſilent, the difference between vulgar and judicious ears, and the grace and gravity of diſcourſe. Thus let their judgments be ever ſo profound, they fail of their purpoſe; and rather accelerate than prevent the ruin of their friends. — The thought, anſwered I, is ingenious; I may add, perhaps, refined: and to be plain with you, one cannot but obſerve, that if the prieſts and bards of antiquity intended by each of their fables to convey ſome exquiſite

exquiſite inſtruction to the minds of their ſcholars, they took a great deal of pains to expreſs with obſcurity, and in a large compaſs of words, what they might have delivered in fewer terms with more eaſe and perſpicuity. Beſides, you ſcarcely allow, that they ever invented a fable merely for the ſake of giving play to the imagination. And ſo, according to your thoughts of the matter, we muſt ſuppoſe the neceſſitous and wandering Ἀοίδοι of antiquity intruſted with all the arcana of religion, acquainted with the arts of princes, and to have made themſelves maſters of the ſeveral myſteries of government. — The learning of the world at that time, replied CTESIPHON, lay in few hands; and the Ἀοίδοι, whom you ſpeak of, had certainly the largeſt ſhare of it. Their travels to the courts of petty lords (of whom there were many in thoſe days) and to the towns which were then in higheſt repute through Greece, furniſhed them with a more conſiderable knowledge of the manners of various nations, and their opinions in religion and politics, than any other inhabitants of the country. HOMER, you know, is reported to have converſed with LYCURGUS; and they ſay, that, in forming the Spartan ſtate, the ſevere lawgiver paid a peculiar deference to the ſentiments of the fanciful poet. With reſpect to their tales, to me it ſeems more reaſonable to imagine, that theſe Ἀοίδοι always conceal ſome ſubject of improvement under the maſk of fable. It was the faſhion of the

Ægyptians to utter themſelves in parables and dark ſayings. The Greeks have derived the ſame cuſtom from their teachers; and you know it has been conſtantly looked upon as part of the wiſdom of antiquity. But the invention of romance for the ſake of romance, could only be an argument of folly. As to your objection to the uſe of allegory, I can in no ſort admit it. A ſoul ſo aptly prepared for inſtruction as yours, CLEANDER, would chuſe the neareſt way to it. But how few are there, alas! who have the ſame diſpoſition to receive it? A plain truth cannot offend you: were it moulded and ſoftened to your inclination, you would think it an affront to your underſtanding; and you have no ſooner marked out an error in your conduct, than you reform it. I beſeech you not to judge of the reſt of mankind by the temper of your own mind. Allegory is a proper and familiar way of bringing thoſe to reaſon who cannot bear a downright reproof. It ſweetens the bitter draught of inſtruction; it carries nothing that is auſtere or diſguſting along with it; and the impreſſion which it leaves, though gently and gradually made, is nevertheleſs laſting. Allegory is the varniſh of truth; and while it takes away nothing from the ſtrength of it, adds a gloſs and beauty to it, agreeable to all, and inviting to many. I am convinced, ſaid I, CTESIPHON, by your argument; and the encomium which you paſſed upon my temper in the courſe of it, is the only inſtance where

your judgment can be called in queſtion. But I intreat you to go on.

Another ſource of mythology, added CRESIPHON, has been an ignorance in languages, eſpecially the Phœnician; and this I am very well aſſured of, from my own knowledge of that tongue. It is natural to imagine, that the language of the colonies, which came from Phœnicia into Greece, would mix itſelf in proceſs of time with the original language of the country; and as it abounds with equivocal words and phraſes, whenever the Greeks met with them in the Phœnician hiſtories, they thought themſelves at liberty of explain them agreeably to their own humor. An example or two will ſuffice to maintain my obſervation. The word *Nahhaſeh* imports equally a keeper, or a dragon. Hence the tale of the golden fleece, and the garden of the Heſperides. From *Alpha* or *Ilpha*, ſignifying alike a bull or a ſhip, they framed the ſtory of EUROPA's being carried off by JUPITER transformed into a bull, inſtead of ſaying, more conſiſtently with the accidents of common life, that ſhe was conveyed in a ſhip to Crete. By the aſſiſtance of languages one may trace the origin of thoſe Ægyptian and Phœnician fables, that have been deformed and varied by the Greeks, with a view to prove, that the riſe of all was among them, and that they received neither their deities nor great men from any other people. This ariſes from their national pride, in pretending to be Αὐτόχθονες, or *Aborigines*, of the country.

The tale of EUROPA, which you juſt mentioned, anſwered I, puts me in mind of another

ſource of fable, ridiculous perhaps and whimſical, but not yet touched upon; I mean a regard for the reputation of ſeveral matrons and princeſſes of antiquity. As it was impoſſible their chaſtity ſhould ever be violated by human means, or the allurements of the faireſt mortals, ſome god muſt have forced them to a compliance with his wiſhes; and thus the ſoft gallantries of the lover were imputed to the arbitrary injunctions of a deity.

After all, concluded the ſophiſt, we muſt look for the chief cauſe of fable in vanity, the prevailing foible of mankind. Our anceſtors, unable to follow plain nature, abſurdly endeavoured to exceed it. For deſigning to raiſe their own characters to fame, or propoſe their own lives as the patterns for imitation, they deſcribed them with all the marvels of poetry and fancy. Strange fondneſs for fiction! that could make them aſpire to a reputation of extravagance, unjuſtly called heroiſm, and ſet themſelves for an example in ſuch actions as are above the capacity of a man. How different is the behaviour of unaffected virtue! She diſdains the gay ornaments of fiction, and borrows no luſtre but from her own intrinſic excellence. Her views are not like thoſe of the romantically ambitious, dependent on falſe glory, and the blaſt of popular applauſe. She teaches us to recommend our actions to the eſteem and admiration of poſterity, unmixed with ſuch fantaſtic falſhoods, as may be thought juſtly an allay to their merit.

C.

LETTER LXXXI.

CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS. *From* Athens.

THY five thouſand darics [98], noble ſatrap, are ſo far from creating me a diſagreeable employment, that they give me occaſion to improve and indulge my taſte among thoſe curioſities which thou deſiredſt me to procure, and at the ſame time are of ſervice to me in my miniſterial capacity, by introducing me to the acquaintance of many conſiderable perſons, and advancing me to a character which the greateſt men here are fond of, that of a lover and judge of thoſe elegancies. Were my fellow-laborer CRATIPPUS to undertake ſuch a commiſſion, he would at once loſe all the intereſt his ſingular addreſs has procured him in the Lacedæmonian adminiſtration; nay, it were well if he did not get himſelf expelled from that little community, where he daily ſups black broth for his maſter's ſervice, and outdoes the native Spartans in bitterneſs againſt the Athenian politeneſs and Aſiatic magnificence. But here whatever tends to improve or adorn life, has its ſhare of reputation. The pencil of my countryman PARRHASIUS has

[98] See Letter xxx.

obtained for him the right of citizenſhip; and PHIDIAS's ſkill in ſtatuary and architecture raiſed him ſo high in the ſtate, that he was treated like a public miniſter, and impeached before the people. But thou wilt not wonder at any marks of diſtinction ſhown to artiſts in this city, after thy adventure with ZEUXIS at Epheſus, if thou recolleſteſt with how ſtately an air he received thy viſit, and, amidſt all the pomp and attendance of a Perſian viceroy, how freely he reproved thy falſe criticiſms on his works [99]. To thoſe very reproofs is perhaps in ſome meaſure owing the admirable taſte thou now art maſter of; and which, joined to that liberality, which equally diſtinguiſhes thee, will eſtabliſh a ſchool of elegance in the Eaſt, and convert our affectation of the coſtly and unnatural into a love of what is great and ſimple. My ſituation enables me to aſſiſt this noble deſign; and it is with the greateſt pleaſure I give thee a proof of my attention to it, by the following liſt of what I have collected.

The two figures of Delian braſs are of POLYCLETUS [100]. In one he ſhows all the ſoft beauties of a delicate youth; in the other, the manly grace and ſtrong muſcling of a body trained to arms. Thou wilt be apt in the latter to charge the ſculptor with extravagance;

[99] The common ſtory of ALEXANDER and APELLES is by AELIAN. Var. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 2. told of MEGABYZUS and ZEUXIS.

[100] POLYCLETUS DIADUMENUM fecit molliter juvenem & DORYPHORUM viriliter puerum. PLIN. xxxiv. § 19.

but the exercises constantly practised in Greece, give a shape to parts, very different from that of the less active nations.

Most of the HERMÆ [101], thou wilt observe, have the same turn of countenance. That divine sweetness is not the mere idea of the artist; the hint is taken from ALCIBIADES [102], the most beautiful youth in Athens. The CUPID holding a thunderbolt, which is also his portrait, I cannot but look upon as something prophetic, as a kind of expression of that reputation and authority which his charming person and most engaging behaviour are likely one day to procure him among his citizens.

It was with difficulty I got the sea-piece of ANDROBIUS [103] from the family whose ancestor is the hero of it. The intrepidity and eagerness which appear in the face and action of SCYLLIS, as he swims towards the Persian galleys, whose cables he cut in the bad weather before the battle of Artemisium, are wonderfully expressed. Great minister, let not the subject offend thee; we love not our country the less, when we admire the virtue of an enemy; and a work of art like this sent into Asia, whatever be the story, I consider among the spoils of Greece.

[101] Athenienses illos Hermas ALCIBIADIS ad corporis similitudinem fabricatos. ARNOB. adversus gentes, lib. vi.

[102] De cupidine fulmen tenente id affirmatur, ALCIBIADEM esse principem forma in ea ætate. PLIN. lib. XXXVI. § 4.

[103] ANDROBIUS pinxit SCYLLIN ancoras Persicæ classi præcidentem. PLIN. lib. XXXV. § 40.

The victory of our troops over the Ægyptian rebels [104] is, however, a more agreeable piece. The painter, to ſhow it happened upon the Nile, has introduced a crocodile ſeizing an aſs upon the bank, and enriched the landſcape with a Sphinx and a Pyramid.

Every maſter, thou wilt imagine, was ambitious to ſucceed in the repreſentation of PERICLES [105]. To help the want of proportion in his head, and yet not quite loſe ſo ſtriking a particularity, they generally covered it with an helmet. He was otherwiſe a moſt graceful figure; and CTESILAUS [106] has done him that juſtice, that in this ſtatue every ſpectator agrees he is truly Olympian. The ruler of Athens, the arbiter of Greece, the orator, the general, the ſtateſman, all appear in his look and attitude. CTESILAUS indeed has the peculiar art of improving every charm, and adding dignity to the nobleſt ſubjects.

After ſurveying this elegant portrait, what wilt thou think of the ſame great perſon, expoſed in the ridiculous draughts of a painter in CLEON's pay, his only deformity aggravated, and every feature debaſed? Through all this

104 Cum prælium navale Aegyptiorum & Perſarum pinxiſſet, quod in Nilo, cujus aqua eſt mari ſimilis, factum volebat intelligi, argumento declaravit, quod arte non poterat; aſellum enim in littore bibentem pinxit & crocodilum inſidiantem ei. PLIN. ibid. So N. POUSSIN ſhowed, that his ſcene lay in Aegypt.

105 PLUTARCH in PERICLE.

106 CTESILAUS. — Olympium PERICLEM dignum cognomine. Mirumque in hac arte eſt, quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 19.

thou wilt ſtill perceive a ſhocking likeneſs; and the painter ſeems as happily to have copied the abuſive deſcription of the comic poet CRATINUS [107], as PHIDIAS did thoſe ſublime verſes [108] of HOMER in the deſign of his JUPITER. Such is the licence of the pencil at Athens. But it goes higher, and burleſques even their gods in the ſtory of the birth of BACCHUS, where JUPITER appears in the dreſs and poſture of a woman in labor, with the goddeſſes, like goſſips, ſtanding round him. The enlightened adorers of MITHRAS, potent ſatrap, may ſafely join in the laugh at ſuch monſtrous repreſentations. To expreſs the deity under any form, we know to be abſurd and impious; but at the ſame time we muſt allow, that to this ſuperſtition of the Greeks the arts of deſign owe their perfection and their very being. The rude image of ſome god was the firſt effort of ſculpture, and the moſt curious paintings adorn the walls of the temples.

The encomiums of the poets have made MYRON's [109] cow ſo famous, that I was determined to procure it for thee. It is indeed a capital piece. The braſs, thou wilt ſee, is of a different kind from that employed by

[107] The verſes are quoted by PLUTARCH in PERICLE.

[108] Petulanti pictura innotuit, JOVE Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato, & muliebriter ingemiſcente inter obſtetricia dearum. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 40.

[109] MYRONEM — bucula maximè nobilitavit, celebratis verſibus laudata. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 19.

POLYCLETUS [110]; it comes from the forges of Ægina. Theſe two rivals vie even in the choice of their materials.

The lion ſurrounded by Cupids, by the ſame hand, ſtrikes me much more. Wouldſt thou think it poſſible for that nobleneſs of character, which diſtinguiſhes the gods and heroes of PHIDIAS [111], to be diſplayed in the brute creation? MYRON's lion will convince thee of it. The boys are deſigned with ſuch ſoftneſs [112], and placed ſo advantageouſly, (ſome tying garlands round his neck, ſome playing with his paws, or climbing up his ſides,) that no group, however ſuperior on account of its ſubject, has been more admired.

The genius of Athens is the work of PARRHASIUS [113]. By the expreſſion he has given to his figure, and the attributes with which he accompanies it, he moſt ingeniouſly ſhows us the temper and ſtate of this people. There is an air of grandeur mixed with levity, and a

[110] Aeginetico ære MYRON uſus eſt, Deliaco POLYCLETUS, æquales atque condiſcipuli: æmulatio iis & in materia fuit. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 5.

[111] Like the famous lion of RUBENS.

[112] Leæna, aligerique ludentes cum eâ Cupidines; quorum alii religatam tenerent, alii e coruu cogerent bibere, alii calcearent foccis. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. § 4. The boys like FIAMINGO's.

[113] Pinxit PARRHASIUS Δῆμον Athenienſium, argumento quoque ingenioſo; volebat namque varium, iracundum, injuſtum, inconſtantem, eundem exorabilem, clementem, miſericordem, excelſum, glorioſum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque & omnia pariter oſtendere. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 36.

fierceneſs tempered by generoſity. The owl repreſents political prudence, the caduceus eloquence, and the trident the dominion of the ſea. In general, I muſt confeſs, theſe allegorical ſubjects ſeldom pleaſe me. It is difficult to find ſymbols that exactly repreſent the idea they are intended for; and, if they are not ſuch as are authorized by common uſe, they perplex and tire the ſpectator, inſtead of entertaining and informing him.

I will not interrupt the pleaſure, which I flatter myſelf thou wilt receive from this account, with buſineſs of ſtate. My public diſpatches I have addreſſed to the chief ſcribe. I would ſpeak to thee on this occaſion, not as the loweſt ſlave of ARTAXERXES to the great ſupport of his throne, but as a paſſionate lover of the arts to the generous protector of them.

W.

End of the fourth Year of the Peloponneſian War.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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